



Migrating Later in Life: Older Polish Migrants in the UK

PhD Thesis

Judith McKeon

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Humanities

Faculty of Art, Design & Humanities

De Montfort University

March 2014

Declaration

I, Judith McKeon, declare that the main text of this thesis entitled *Migrating Later in Life: Older Polish Migrants in the UK* is entirely my own work. This work has not been previously submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

Abstract

Despite the plethora of research on migration, little is known about behaviours and experiences of older working age migrants. This thesis focuses on Polish migrants aged 45 – 65, who have arrived in the UK since 2004 looking for work and better opportunities. The purpose of the study is to explore links between age and migration by investigating older migrants who are still economically active. Thirty five interviews were carried out across the UK using an oral history qualitative approach. These migrants were particularly affected by redundancy during the transitional period from socialism to capitalism in Poland; they then found it almost impossible to find other work because of their age. The decision to migrate may have been influenced by an early exposure to Western influences; however, it was the impact of unemployment and debt that led to a re-evaluation of their lives. Although they may be at different family stages, these older migrants' shared background and perception of their lack of value has shaped their migration experience. They represent parents, grandparents, sons, daughters, married couples, widows and single persons; this age group gives a more complete and nuanced picture of family life and relationships. The emotional costs are high when families are separated through migration, especially when elderly parents are involved. Despite the wide age range, family experiences are often very similar, with preferences for staying at home and watching Polish television. However, the opportunity of employment in the UK has given them an economic and social value no longer available to them in their homeland. As so much of their life course has been invested in Poland, many see no need to learn English; it is not a priority as they have virtual social interactions with family and friends in Poland and continue to inhabit a Polish-speaking world. This age group are also more likely to be pioneer migrants, accessing new destinations.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisors who have encouraged and supported me on this journey. Kathy Burrell has given me her expert advice and guidance throughout and has always been there for me when I needed her; I could not have written this thesis without Kathy's constant support. I am eternally grateful for her thorough and detailed reading of all the chapters and for the way she has guided me through the process. I am equally appreciative of the support and suggestions from Panikos Panayi, who stepped in when needed and gave me confidence that I could complete the journey. It would be difficult to find a better supervisory team and I have been extremely fortunate to benefit from their knowledge and expertise.

I would also like to thank all the wonderful Polish people who made this study possible. They shared their life experiences with me as well as lots of tea and Polish cakes. I hope that I have told their stories well.

My heartfelt thanks go to those closest to me, who gave me courage and accompanied me on the journey. I could not have reached my destination without them.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my children Kati, Daniel and Eloise, who are all experiencing their own migratory journeys.

Contents

DECLARATION.....	I
ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
DEDICATION.....	IV
CONTENTS	V
GLOSSARY	VII
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION TO STUDY.....	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 THE AGE ISSUE.....	3
1.3 AGE AND LIFE COURSE.....	5
1.4 RESEARCH AIMS	9
1.5 RESEARCH CONTEXT.....	10
1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN.....	12
1.7 CONTEXT OF STUDY	12
1.8 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON POLISH MIGRATION.....	14
1.9 THE IMPACT ON THE UK	17
1.10 ANTI-POLISH SENTIMENTS	21
1.11 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	22
1.12 CHAPTER OUTLINE	23
1.13 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	24
CHAPTER 2 METHODS AND METHODOLOGY.....	25
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	25
2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN.....	25
2.3 IDENTIFYING THE AGE GROUP.....	28
2.4 USE OF TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS	31
2.5 INTERVIEWS	35
2.6 ANALYSING QUALITATIVE DATA.....	40
2.7 QUESTIONNAIRES	42
2.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	45
CHAPTER 3 THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE	48
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	48
3.2 EARLY INFLUENCES	49
3.3 LIVING IN POLITICAL TRANSITION	54
3.4 EXPECTATIONS OF MIGRATION.....	57
3.5 LIFE AS ECONOMIC MIGRANTS.....	66
3.6 MIGRANT LIFESTYLE IN THE UK	75
3.7 SOCIAL NETWORKS.....	85
3.8 SETTLING IN	89
3.9 DAILY ROUTINE	92
3.10 FINDING AN IDENTITY	97
3.11 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	100

CHAPTER 4	FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	103
4.1	INTRODUCTION	103
4.2	RESPONSIBILITIES TO PARENTS	104
4.3	RESPONSIBILITIES TO CHILDREN	110
4.4	DIVIDED FAMILIES	118
4.5	EMOTIONAL COSTS	125
4.6	FAMILY MOTIVATIONS	128
4.7	LIFE-STAGE	131
4.8	INTENTION TO SETTLE	134
4.9	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	136
CHAPTER 5	LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION	139
5.1	INTRODUCTION	139
5.2	ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS	140
5.3	COMMUNICATION	144
5.4	STRATEGIES	152
5.5	SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT	156
5.6	DIGITAL COMMUNICATION	164
5.7	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	169
CHAPTER 6	CONCLUSION	171
7.1	INTRODUCTION	171
7.2	SPECIFIC ISSUES	172
7.3	SHARED BACKGROUNDS	173
7.4	LIFE-COURSE TRAJECTORY	174
7.5	THE AGE GROUP	175
7.6	FURTHER RESEARCH	176
REFERENCES	.....	178
PRIMARY REFERENCES	.....	178
<i>Interviewees and age at interview.</i>	.....	178
<i>Government sources</i>	.....	179
<i>Archival</i>	.....	180
SECONDARY REFERENCES	.....	180
<i>Media</i>	.....	206
APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE	.....	208
APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEWEES	.....	3

Glossary

A8 Accession	The 8 countries which were admitted to the European Union in 2004: Czech Republic; Estonia; Hungary; Latvia; Lithuania; Poland; Slovakia; and Slovenia.
BKL	Bilans Kapitalu Ludzkiego, the Study of Human Capital in Poland research project, conducted jointly by the Polish Agency for Enterprise Development and the Jagiellonian University Centre for Evaluation and Analysis of Public Policies at Jagiellonian University.
CEDEFOP	European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training.
DWP	Department for Works and Pensions (UK).
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission.
ICT	Information and communications technology.
NARIC	National Academic Recognition Information Centre.
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.

Chapter 1 Introduction to Study

1.1 Introduction

This study seeks to highlight the specific issues relating to people who move countries when they are older, particularly those who are migrating for economic reasons. The focus of economic migration studies has mainly been on the young people in their 20s and 30s, who are exploring their opportunities and options, and who indeed make up the vast majority of such migrants. The older age group, comprising those over 45 years old, tend to be the forgotten ones, and yet their experiences can add much to understanding the whole migration phenomenon. Their stories show how age and life course give meaning to their migratory journeys, but can also cause disruption and emotional distress. The age of 45 is clearly an arbitrary starting point as somebody in their early forties may not experience migration so differently from someone in their mid-forties, and a 45 year old may have a very different migration experience from someone in their sixties or seventies. However, taking 45 as an age point does offer a useful way of differentiating migrants by their age; it is used in government statistics and therefore official records were available to quantify the study. The broad age range of 45 - 65 is also a time when people are entering the mid-life stage in their life course and they are re-evaluating their lives and re-appraising their identity (Hunt, 2005); additionally, it is a time when one would expect life patterns to be stabilised and families to be more settled. Consequently, those who migrate when aged over 45 are not conforming to what is expected of them, and it is worthwhile exploring the motivating forces for their migration, as well as the life-changing experiences related to their migratory journey.

The focus of this study on older migrants is in capturing the working age migrants who are effectively in the latter twenty years of their active working lives. It is not intended to explore the experiences of elderly migrants, where several previous studies have been carried out (Phillipson et al, 2000; Gardner, 2002; Treas, 2008; Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Instead it offers a unique opportunity of exploring the

migratory experiences of those aged 45 – 65, who are moving countries while economically active.

An important factor is that this defined age group is caught between generations, having to balance demands of children and elderly parents. The older Polish migrants are also caught between two cultures and two geographical spaces, relinquishing their home country and yet not identifying with the country of settlement. It is especially difficult when they need to learn a foreign language to take advantage of the new opportunities which are opening for them; this age group has not had the exposure to English language experienced by younger people. Migrating to a new country when older is a more considered decision, as so much is being left behind, and this investigation focuses on how these older migrants meet these challenges.

The over-45s age group has not yet had the attention it deserves, yet it involves a significant proportion of migrants. Despite the perception that migrating for economic reasons is limited to a younger age group, research and statistics show that about seven per cent of all A8 Accession migrants to the UK – of whom over half are from Poland (Gillingham, 2010) - are aged over forty five (Gidley et al, 2010; Accession Monitoring Report, 2009; Trevena, 2009). This represents a substantial number of older migrants, about whom little is known.

Whilst there have been numerous studies on younger migrants, the older age group has not been widely investigated, and the issues relating to them are not yet fully understood. It is recognised that the motivation to migrate diminishes with age (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999; Green & Canny, 2003), yet large numbers of older people are migrating. This would imply that migration is becoming more accessible to all age groups and indeed the age structure in recent years shows a shift towards A8 migrants of older working ages coming to the UK (Gillingham, 2010). Recent research by Falkingham et al (2011) also acknowledges that older migrants are not returning to their point of departure, and continue to stay where they have made a new home for themselves. The purpose of this study is therefore to investigate the phenomenon of older migrants coming from an Accession country to the UK. As the majority of A8 migrants originate from Poland, it was decided to focus on Polish migrants over the age of forty five. The 2011 census shows that as many as ten per

cent of all Polish-born residents in the UK are aged forty-five plus, totalling a substantial sixty-seven thousand individuals (ONS, 2012).

In order to provide an introduction to the study, this chapter looks at the age issue and presents a new perspective on migrating at a later stage in the life course. It presents the research aims and both the research context and design are then described. An overview is given of the impact of Polish migration on the UK, and the chapter discusses the value of this study and its contribution to knowledge. A chapter outline is provided, which gives the structure of the thesis.

1.2 The Age Issue

There is more awareness now of how the world population is ageing and yet societies are not fully prepared for the impact of such ageing populations. The World Health Organisation (WHO, 2012) report indicates how quickly this is taking place, with the world's population of people aged sixty and over predicted to reach two billion by 2050; this is twenty two per cent of the total population. This is a permanent trend and has been caused by a combination of smaller family sizes and longer life expectancies (Nielsen, 2011). Perceptions of age will need to change as people will be considered more economically viable in a climate where there are not enough young people to support them financially, and where job vacancies are not being filled due to a lack of workers. As Bloom et al (2011) argue, population ageing presents formidable challenges, and they suggest that future labour forces in developed countries may see rises in both the elderly and migrants. It is not unreasonable to think that this may include elderly migrants. With at least seven per cent of the A8 migrants to the UK already being aged forty five or older, new migration among older migrants could increase rapidly and therefore it is important to understand this age group.

There has been little research on this older age group of migrants moving for economic reasons. Previous studies have focused on migrants growing old in a receiving country (Gardner, 2002; Izuhara and Shibata, 2001; Attias-Donfut and Wolff, 2005; Lewinter et al, 1996; Torres, 2004; Bolzman et al, 2006), or on older migrants retiring or joining family (Warnes et al, 1999; King et al, 2000; Torres, 2002 & 2006; Casado-Diaz et al, 2004; Illes, 2005). These studies have highlighted issues

specific to their category and many have identified themes of loneliness, isolation and dependence, all of which can ultimately impact on migrants' psychological wellbeing. Ghosh and Khan (2005) find that even minor adjustments older migrants have to make to their lifestyle can lead to increased stress. It is therefore important to recognise whether age is a significant factor in economic migration, and whether the age at which migration takes place may have an impact on emotional wellbeing. However, it is also important to recognise that the term older in this study is used to differentiate migrants, many of whom may otherwise be classified as middle-aged, from the younger Polish working age group about whom much research abounds.

The experiences of those in the older age group will also differ, as participants in their forties are undoubtedly going to be at a different life or family stage than those in their sixties. However, it can be useful to explore the differences as well as the similarities and to bear in mind that studies focusing on individuals, whatever their age, will always offer a wide range of perceptions and experiences. Age brings with it more responsibilities and considerations which are not so relevant to a younger age group, and it is these issues that are worth exploring. In this way it may be investigated if age has any significance to the migration experience. As mentioned earlier, the focus of this study is on the 45 – 65 age group, an age range where participants are still considered to be economically active. This older age group may be defined as being in the second half of their working lives, and that may also be a factor in their migration, as they begin to recognise the finiteness of their economic capital.

Younger migrants are considered to have a rejuvenating effect on ageing societies (Cangiano et al, 2007) and their economic impact is regarded as beneficial; in recent years eighty per cent of migrant workers have been under thirty five years old compared to forty two per cent of the UK working population (Royal Geographic Society, 2008); they therefore have a longer productive and active working life. A survey carried out on behalf of the Australian Government (Access Economics, 2003) shows that there is a negative impact on state budgets for migrants who arrive in the country around the age of forty eight to forty nine years of age or older; there is no fiscal benefit to the receiving country for older migrants. Previous studies have suggested that Eastern European migrants will return home before they get old (Royal Geographic Society, 2008), but latest research suggests otherwise

(Falkingham et al, 2011). This evolving situation is likely to present new challenges for both governments and the older migrants themselves.

Whilst it has been common for younger people to move around looking for work (Castles, 2004), there have not been many studies on the impact this has on those in the older age bracket. Those aged over forty-five years old are more likely to have laid down roots and migration may not normally be the first option they consider when looking at their prospects for the future. Green & Canny (2003) suggest that as people grow older, they become less inclined to relocate. However, older migrants have often been made redundant and then find themselves unable to find more work in Poland (McKeon, 2014), so they have to make a conscious decision to look outside their own country in order to provide a better lifestyle for their families. The decision is not always easy as it involves families being parted, children being left with grandparents, parents being left on their own, and husbands and wives living alone in different countries. It was found that these older migrants had to make choices and were faced with quite difficult decisions on whether they were going to leave children or parents in Poland while they were forced into a position where they had to find work outside their own country due to age discrimination. Both men and women expressed feelings of guilt at leaving sick parents, and at not being able to afford to travel back to Poland more regularly to be with their families (McKeon, 2012).

This study is therefore intended to explore the issues involved in migrating for economic reasons when aged forty-five or older, and to provide an insight into the life-course trajectories which have resulted in these migratory journeys. It also seeks to provide some understanding of the experiences and behaviours of older migrants leading their everyday lives in the UK as this is an area which has not been well researched. These older working age migrants do not have the same aspirations and expectations as younger people and this study provides a framework for their stories.

1.3 Age and Life Course

Older migrants are at a different stage of their life course and the events that contextualise these stages contribute to the literature on life course research. Most of the stages are determined by age related transitions and they form a progression

through time (Clausen, 1986). However, although age is an important indicator of these stages, it is not the defining characteristic of change (Clark and Withers, 2007), which can be influenced by other factors. Changes that take place in different societies are the impetus for restructuring individual life courses, and consequently life courses will vary across countries and generations (Stull, 2000). Life course studies started with research on Polish migrants in Europe and Asia carried out by Thomas and Znaniecki in 1918 and since then has developed into an approach which helps explain social change and social phenomena through individual life events (Kulu and Milewski, 2007). Whilst focusing on the understanding of social change, it also helps to make sense of individual lives. Within this study it will be shown that individual perceptions of events differ and the experiences of the individuals are nuanced through differences as well as similarities. Family situations, gender, class and age are factors which indicate that social change is a multi-faceted phenomenon as individuals are exposed to society in different ways.

As the European Union has enlarged its borders to include Eastern European countries, migration is one of the greatest drivers of change and the life courses of many individuals have had to be restructured as they move from home country to host country. Wingens et al (2011) point out that there has been a large amount of research on migration, but very little uses a sociological life course approach, and therefore there is a gap in understanding migrant behaviours. A life course approach provides a framework for examining accumulated experiences and offers an opportunity to contextualise decisions to migrate; it is especially appropriate for studying the lives of older migrants whose decisions and behaviours are more likely to be influenced by underlying social changes which have taken place over a period of time. This makes research on this age group interesting as their stories can provide more depth of understanding of migration behaviour, and they have different perspectives whilst growing up and becoming young adults during a time of immense social change in Poland. Their stories can also provide more understanding of migration decisions made by those who are at a stage in their life course where there are more emotional attachments to both family and surroundings.

Life course theory recognises that individual lives interact with family experiences and with the contemporary social context (Hareven, 1994). In her study of older migrant reunification with family in the United States, Treas (2008) argues that social

contexts in both the receiving society and the homeland shape experiences and actions; additionally she suggests that timing in the life course has an impact on integration into the new society as migrants have so many ties to their past lives. It is important not to underestimate the emotional attachments that older people have to their homeland (Becker, 2002, 2003). Gardner (2002: 203), in her study of Bengalis who have grown old in London, describes how about seventy per cent of those who die are repatriated to their home villages in Bangladesh for burial, even though they have lived most of their lives in London. Connection to ancestral place does not seem to diminish with the passage of time (Baldassar and Gabaccia, 2011: 176). Migrants are not escaping from their homeland, they are escaping from stressful living conditions (Baldassar et al, 2011: 178; McKeon, 2014). A life course approach allows more investigation of such themes, as can be seen in this study.

This attachment to homeland has been seen as evidence of non-integration in the receiving country (Reilly, 2000: 95). Tsuda's (2009: 244) study of Japanese in Brazil argues that there must be a positive emotional attachment to the homeland, but also that the welcome from the receiving country can impact on how migrants view their homeland: if it is positive and desirable, then people are more likely to feel part of that society and identify with it. Izuhara and Shibata (2001) find, however, in their study of Japanese women in London, that as they grow older, many revert to the preferences of their original culture and find it hard to relate to those with whom they have not shared earlier experiences. Additionally, Attias-Donfut and Wolff (2005) argue that, as with Gardner's (2001) study, many migrants growing older in France prefer to be buried in their original homeland; that this is symbolically a wish to be placed in their original social group.

Those who migrated to a new country when they were young have specific issues as they grow old in the receiving country. Lewinter and Kesmez (1996) indicate that elderly Turkish migrants are very isolated in Danish society and express a desire to return to their home country in old age; after living in Denmark for thirty years, they have neither learnt the language nor integrated. The preferred option for many has been identified by Bolzman et al (2006) as dividing residence between two countries; both the home country and the host country have meanings and significance in their lives. It is suggested that this can also be explained by the length of time these migrants have spent in the host country: that it becomes more difficult to sever ties if

they have been living in the receiving country for many years. Warnes and Williams (2006) argue that there has been a limited amount of research on older migrants and that the situation with economic migrants who have grown old in a receiving country is likely to change as more information becomes available; many of the previous economic migrants to Western Europe are only just reaching the next stage in their life course. This is why this study is important as it adds to the knowledge available on economic migrants at a certain stage in their lives.

Sandra Torres (2006) also confirms that the majority of studies on elderly immigrants have been for the purpose of estimating service needs and have not investigated the wider issues that such migrants may experience. Torres (2006) argues that there is a difference between migrants who grow old in a country and people who migrate when they are older and that this should be taken into account. Older migrants make more informed decisions and often theirs is a lifestyle preference, according to King et al (2006) whose study finds that retirees to the South of Spain are highly satisfied with their destination choice and do not want to return to the UK. Michman (1991: 104) suggests that lifestyle is highly important to older people and that intangible or aesthetic experiences are of more value to them than material possessions; also that their energies in pursuing interests and activities can be just as intense as those of younger people. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that migrants are individuals and it would be naïve to suggest that all older migrants can be categorised as one group. There are many variables which may impact on the lives, perceptions and experiences of the 45 – 65 age group and the differences may be as many as the similarities. Those in their forties with young children will not have the same experiences as those in their sixties, as they are at a different stage in their life course. However, even those of a similar age and at a similar life stage may have a completely different migratory experience, dependent on factors such as attitude, background, networks and adaptability.

During their life course people's needs change and how they adjust to these changes depends on time, money and health (Michman, 1991: 104). An active and positive attitude to work and life throughout the entire life course leads to healthy ageing and improves the quality of life (Vainio, 2012). However, not enough has been done to connect positive attitudes, images and lifestyle to age, which is still perceived as a social problem (Katz, 2002). Older migrants still have much to offer

the receiving country and this is not yet recognised. As discussed earlier, the majority of literature pertaining to older migrants tends to focus on their health or housing issues (Torres, 2006). There is a general consensus that older migrants are relatively healthy because they are in a better position to migrate (Markides et al, 2008) but they are consequently more likely to suffer from depression, which has been attributed to language barriers, social isolation, and culture conflict (Stokes et al, 2001). These factors focus on the migrant's integration into the host country but they do not take into account the influence of life course events and do not give insight into the way social and historical contexts in both host country and homeland have shaped these lives. The older Polish migrants are therefore a group where more research is needed to understand issues which may impede their integration into UK society, and which may affect their satisfaction with their lives in the UK.

As these other studies show, the life course is significant for understanding the behaviours of these older migrants. Events that have happened in their lives have an impact on their decision to migrate. It is important to listen to their stories and their perceptions to be able to contextualise their migratory journey. Age is the focus of this study and the journeys that older migrants make are not along the same pathways as younger migrants. Their position on the life course trajectory is different and they will have different expectations, different experiences and make different decisions. This study seeks to illuminate the differing expectations and experiences among older migrants.

1.4 Research Aims

The overarching theme of this research is to explore the links between age and migration. By relating this to older people migrating from Eastern Europe to the United Kingdom after 2004 for economic purposes, the study has three main aims. One is to investigate specific issues encountered by older migrants coming to a new country with a different language and culture, and their lived experience in the UK; it is to investigate the extent to which age is significant for these experiences. A second aim is to explore common backgrounds and motivations for migrating; it is also to explore the differences within this age group. The third aim is to investigate

and define the significance of the age factor and life-course in their migration experience.

1.5 Research Context

For this study thirty-five older Polish migrants to the UK were interviewed over a period of almost two years from 2010 to 2011. There was no geographic boundary within the UK, but location of the migrants was mainly in England, with one from Scotland. They were originally from various towns and cities in Poland, therefore quite representative of Polish migrants. As already discussed, the investigation focused on those aged forty-five and over, with the oldest person interviewed being sixty-eight, and the mean age being fifty-two years old. The sample included an equal mix of males and females, with eighteen males and seventeen females interviewed. At the time of interviewing all bar one of the thirty-five participants were over the age of forty-five, and it was decided to include the forty-three year old as her husband was older and she had an interesting story to tell. Five of the interviewees were later found to have been between forty and forty-five when they arrived in the UK, but the majority were aged over forty-five upon arrival, as can be seen in the appendix. In retaining all their narratives, this study is then able to explore the nuanced experiences within the life stage spectrum.

Age is a social construction and has been traditionally determined by life stage, which within contemporary working societies is also defined by work. The age at which people retire is often seen as “old age”. A study carried out with students in Turkey gave an average age of 59 as being old as it is seen as a stage of dependency (Erol, 2009). This coincides with official definitions of old through international communities as being around 60 (Kim & Traphagan, 2010), although the ageing world population is causing this delineation to be reviewed. The increasing costs of providing pensions to those regarded as past working age is forcing governments to reconsider the artificiality of this predefined age as being old. It has thrown into focus the changing perceptions of attitudes towards ageing as better health, better education and more active lifestyles (Polivka, 2009) extend the independent stage of the life course. Age has an impact on the way people think of themselves and also of the way others perceive them (Hockey & James, 2003: 3)

and it is becoming more common for the mid-life stage to be prolonged, and a more positive image of ageing to be promoted. As stated, the mean age for this study was 52 and many may perceive this as nearing the end of a productive working life, whilst others will perceive it as an age which can offer experience and stability to the workforce. Individuals themselves may view this age as still being young, approaching middle-age, or getting old; much depends on their attitude and the behaviour of others towards them.

However, the social construction of age is not always in alignment with the physical and there are variations in the ageing process for individuals; the boundaries between the different life stages must therefore be viewed as fluid. As Hockey and James (2003) argue, in the twenty-first century there is resistance and challenge to the ageing process and personal choice and life strategies offer alternative routes on the life course trajectory. This is shown in the way some older people have chosen to migrate at an age not normally associated with economic migration. The interviewees in this study may not be classified as old, rather as middle-aged. However, in the perception of today's youth-orientated society anyone aged forty or over is viewed as being older (Hunt, 2005: 183). As discussed, the age boundary used in this study is also necessarily constructed, not to essentialise this age group but also to allow for practical narrowing down of the research focus.

Calasanti (2005) suggests that age categories can influence life chances, and Hurd (1999) argues that an active lifestyle demonstrates productivity and social worth. The social construction of middle age is being prolonged in the modern world (Calasanti, 2005) as the effect of an ageing population begins to be felt. Whereas those in their fifties and sixties may once have been regarded as edging towards the end of their productive life, the modern world is beginning to view this age group in a different way. People are being encouraged to work past retirement dates taken by an earlier generation, and many are willing to do so, as they do not wish to be categorised as having little social or economic worth. It may therefore be argued that the social construction of middle age is very fluid and is much influenced by the perception of others. Whilst younger people may not mind divulging their date of birth, older people are often reluctant to admit theirs as they feel they are categorised by their age, and therefore perceived in a negative way. Their concept of value may not be defined by their chronological age, but by their active role in life. It

is therefore interesting to focus on these over-45 year old individuals who, by the very nature of migration, are actively demonstrating their social worth.

1.6 Research Design

Chapter two discusses more fully the methods and methodology used for this study. The main method selected for the research was an oral history approach, which involves the researcher in a dialogic exchange with the narrator (Portelli, nd). This approach is not just about specific events, but also about contextualising those events in order to understand the meaning (Portelli, nd); therefore, the wider picture of how migration fitted into the life course of the older migrants needs to be taken into account. As Haynes (2006) argues, “oral history provides a sound epistemological and methodological base for understanding the meaning of events and experience to individuals”. It is the experiences of these older migrants which shape this investigation.

Seeing things from different perspectives can help corroborate and therefore validate the data (Denscombe, 2005: 133) and this is often achieved through a mixed methods approach. In this study qualitative methods were used and the validity has been achieved through the interviewing of a number of participants who have each contributed a different perspective of their migratory journey within a common context. The use of a short survey enabled a quantitative approach which complemented the qualitative data. Both the interviews and the questionnaire allow more understanding of the issues involved in migrating when aged forty five or older, and provide opportunities for comparing and contrasting themed experiences which both divide and unify this age group.

1.7 Context of Study

Following the expansion of the European Union in 2004, when Poland became one of the eight new countries whose citizens were given access to the fifteen member states, the Polish people had the right to live and work in these more established and richer countries of Western Europe. Many chose the UK as it was one of only three countries which allowed them to come and work without restrictions; the other two

countries were Sweden and Ireland. All other countries took advantage of agreements whereby they could limit immigration from these Accession countries for up to seven years. This was not surprising: predictions in the second half of the 1990s were suggesting that up to fifty million people could be moving from eastern European to western European countries within ten to fifteen years and that two thirds of them would choose Germany as their favoured destination (Duhr et al, 2010: 165). The A8 Accession countries are the eight Eastern European countries – the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia - which were admitted into the European Union in 2004. This gave these countries access to the more established countries of Western Europe and figures from 2009 indicate that fifty six per cent of the inflows to the UK were from Poland (Gillingham, 2010).

Accession migration to the UK was initially accepted as a mainly positive force, but the large influx of migrants caught many by surprise and the UK was unprepared for the demands placed on it to cope with such high numbers. Estimates of more than one million migrants from the Accession countries are said to have come to the UK (Pollard et al, 2008; McDowell et al, 2008: 338). Vargas-Silva (2012) suggests that part of the problem was that there was no historical data on migration from the A8 countries to the UK and initial projections were based on data from other countries. The overall picture is still unclear due to little academic research having yet taken place on arrival numbers, and also due to the inaccurate data collected by government sources, but Polish migrants are still coming to the UK. Vargas-Silva (2012) indicates that the latest figures from 2011 are showing an increase of twenty per cent over the past two years in the number of migrants from the A8 countries; he also suggests there is still an income differential which makes migration from Poland to the UK an incentive.

There are constant themes which occur when investigating Polish migration overall, and these are to do with employment, housing, education, language, gender and social networks. Many of these are interlinked and cannot be separated, but they serve to support the general argument that more could have been done to ease the transition period for these migrants to enhance their migration experience. It is important therefore to understand the environment into which Polish migrants, in

particular the older migrants, have been placed, and also to understand the environment they have left. This helps to make sense of their journeys, and this study provides a focus on an age group which has been rather neglected in research studies.

1.8 Historical Perspective on Polish Migration

Leaving a homeland to migrate to another foreign land almost always involves either economics or politics, unless propelled by domestic and personal motivations such as marriage or maintaining a family unit. There is a long tradition of Poles migrating to western Europe, especially to Germany for seasonal work. In the years preceding the First World War it was estimated there were nearly half a million Poles working in the eastern provinces of Germany (Walaszek, 2010) and Iglicka (2001) states that by 1914 over three and a half million people had left Poland: some of this was political due to partition and Polish nationalism, although much was due to economic reasons. Throughout the twentieth century Polish migration has been triggered by politics and economics and has reached many parts of the world, notably America, where a strong community had already been formed (Znanienska Lopata, 1994). Within Europe, certainly by the 1990s, Italy and Greece had become popular destinations (Iglicka, 2001) where strong Polish networks were being established.

The history of Polish migration to the UK has been primarily for political rather than economic reasons, which is why it has been more difficult to compare with the current migration trend. Even the influx in the late nineteenth century of “ordinary people” as opposed to religious refugees and political activists (Trevena, 2009), could not be identified as economic migrants in terms of coming to the UK voluntarily in search of opportunities. Following the Second World War, the flow of migrants was once again mainly political refugees (Burrell, 2006: 4). This was a time when approximately one hundred and forty five thousand Poles migrated to the UK, mainly members of the Polish army or the government in exile (Panayi, 1999:13). Although these new migrants were highly educated, their language proficiency limited them in their ability to find work, and also their skills were more attuned to Polish society rather than the UK (Mach, 479). Most of them took unskilled jobs and faced a negative attitude from the British workers, who believed the Poles were taking their

jobs away from them (Patterson, 1977:220). This is not dissimilar to the issues faced by the current flows.

As Galasinska & Kozłowska (2009) argue, contemporary migration since Accession is different in character as it involves economic migrants seeking a better future. Britain has also seen Polish migration over many years, from the political refugees in the eighteenth century when Poland was partitioned, through the nineteenth century when it was estimated there were over one thousand Polish exiles in Britain, to the Second World War which brought more than two hundred thousand Poles to the United Kingdom (Egbert, 2010; Burrell, 2006). It is argued that this history of migration from Poland may well have led to the creation of migration networks and migration diasporas, which have helped to facilitate the whole migration process for more recent arrivals (Currie, 2008). After the fall of communism in 1989, it became easier for Poles to leave their country but there were still barriers to entering other European countries (Burrell, 2009); however, specific policies and schemes such as those Britain introduced for seasonal workers to enter the country on short-term visas, ensured that the United Kingdom was recognised as a welcoming country where money could be earned.

After 1989 Poles had the freedom to travel, due to the collapse of the Communist regime, and some did come to the UK. It was also a difficult time for many as the country's systems were being changed to reflect the transformation from socialism to capitalism. Kowalik (2012) argues that this was so poorly managed that it resulted in extremely unequal and unfair distribution of the nation's productive property, which was mainly taken over by the former political rulers or foreign owners. Attempts at stabilisation entailed high social costs (Kolodko & Rutkowski, 1991), with unemployment, inflation and high prices taking their toll on the working population. The conditions for Poles migrating to find work pre-Accession were not good (Trevena, 2009), and many who reached the UK came in as asylum seekers or illegal immigrants. There were some who were able to take advantage of an agreement for nationals of pre-Accession countries to establish businesses in the UK. Some were also able to enter the UK under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS), undertaking agricultural work, where there was a labour shortage within the UK. This scheme has always been temporary migration with a maximum duration of six months, and subject to quotas (UKBA, 2013). There were also other

temporary labour Sectors-Based Schemes (SBS) for food processing and hospitality, designed to help UK employers fill vacancies for a maximum period of twelve months, but with an age limit of 18 to 30 (UKBA, 2013). However, it was only after Accession in 2004 that the majority of Polish migrants were able to come into the UK and seek employment legally and without the restrictions placed on them by temporary labour schemes.

Historically, however, it has been Germany and the United States which have been the main receiving countries for Polish migration, although Australia and Canada have also been popular destinations. By the early twentieth century over three hundred thousand Poles had migrated to work in German coal mines and one hundred and sixty thousand had gone to the mines in Pennsylvania (McCook, 2011:17), indicating that there was already a culture of economic migration long before the current flows across Europe. Many Poles also worked on a seasonal basis as agricultural labour across borders in Austria, Russia and Prussia (McCook, 2011:19). Between the two world wars there continued to be a substantial flow into the United States, but it was after the Second World War that large numbers came in as displaced persons or political refugees (Krzyzanowski, 2006).

Those migrating to the UK after 1989 represented only a tiny percentage of the one million Poles moving annually: most still went to Germany, USA and Canada (Duvell and Garapich, 2011). Other countries in Europe also became migrant destinations: Greece and Italy (Iglicka, 2001: 47); Austria (Kraler and Sohler, 2007:19); and Belgium (Bosetta et al, 2007:33). However, by 2005 the UK had become the second destination after Germany, and by 2008 it had become the top destination (Duvell et al, 2011). Post-accession Polish migrants to the UK in 2008 accounted for 32 per cent of the total migration outflow from Poland, with Ireland taking a further 9 per cent, equal to the 9 per cent migrating to the USA (Okolsky, 2010).

There are estimates that between one and two million Polish migrants have entered the UK since 2004, although accurate figures cannot be verified as the measures for recording the inflow have been flawed, depending on random samples. Government statistics, however, do note that there were half a million Poles working in the UK in 2011 (ONS, 2011). This does not take into account the families and dependents of these workers.

1.9 The Impact on the UK

After Accession in 2004 the United Kingdom became the principal destination country for Poles (Galgoczi et al, 2009). This was in many ways due to the more relaxed entry conditions in contrast to the restrictions placed upon Polish economic migrants by other European countries. At the time, there were fears that Britain opening its labour markets to Eastern European migrants would create more problems than it solved, by flooding the unskilled labour market and depriving British workers of their jobs. The reality has been that Britain has managed to attract more highly skilled and educated migrants than the other countries which restricted access (Bagehot, 2011). The Polish immigrant group has become one of the fastest growing migrant populations in the country (Burrell, 2009) and there is no indication that this is going to change. There were expectations that the recession would find Polish nationals returning home (Kirby & Barrell, 2009), that they would be attracted back by better wages in their own country (Kirby, Barrell & Foley-Fisher, 2009), but this has not happened: most have remained in employment, leading to the assumption that the decision to migrate has not been reached on economic grounds only (Krings et al, 2009).

Originally there was enthusiasm over the concept of Accession and a belief that the UK would benefit from foreign workers to fill the gaps in the workforce which businesses needed. This was in 2004 in a market with labour shortages due to a strong economy. However, even then there was some disquiet about the possibility of foreign workers flooding the marketplace. The UK was one of the few European countries not to apply restrictions, but they did decide to put measures in place to protect the labour market if necessary. These included a Workers Registration Scheme to monitor numbers coming into the country (Sloman et al, 2009). The UK also placed limitations on access to benefits for two years (Pinsent Masons, 2004). It had already been advised in 2001 that small welfare increases were likely in EU countries (Lejour et al, 2001) but this was estimated as minimal. However, Accession was still seen as an opportunity (Egger, 2003) as it was thought the advantages in trade would lead to faster economic growth. Concern was raised that the flow of incoming migrants might be a drain on the UK economy, as increased spending would be required for health and education in particular (Sloman et al, 2009).

Nevertheless, the UK economy was still growing at the time, and this was not regarded as any great threat.

Although there was acknowledgement that many from the new countries were from agricultural backgrounds and obsolete industries and would consequently require retraining or updating skills, there was still optimism that Western Europe would be inheriting a well-educated labour force and that policies would be set in place to protect this new workforce: this included rights at work, employment, social protection and social dialogue (Egger, 2003). Moreover, the perception of this well-qualified workforce failed to recognise that the educational system had focused on learning facts rather than on creative and analytical thinking and that jobs in the Accession countries required lower levels of qualification, or did not need to formalise training or apprenticeships; consequently, it was difficult for potential employers to assess the level of skills and competence of the A8 newcomers (Phillimore, nd). Even though migrants from less developed countries may be better trained than those staying in their own country, they have to compete against citizens from developed countries who have received higher levels of training (Mostert et al, 1998:181).

There were some warnings about the large number of long-term unemployed and very high youth unemployment. From the Polish aspect there was a tangible benefit to migration as the unemployment rates in Poland were around fifteen per cent in 2006, compared to five per cent in the UK but the reality was that only about twelve per cent of the migrants were a skilled labour force (Bhat, 2007). This did not deter the initial enthusiasm that a limited number of skilled and diligent workers would be coming to the UK to help fill the vacancies in the labour market turned down by British workers, and the supply of willing Polish workers was welcomed.

Once the impact of the migration flow began to take effect, this initial enthusiasm began to wane and more warnings were raised. British public opinion perceived the Polish workers as taking jobs and working for much less money than British workers (Mankiw et al, 2011:187). Hickman, Mai & Crowley (2012: 78) concur that there was evidence that new arrivals were likely to work for very low wages, particularly when working through agencies. It was estimated that between five hundred thousand and

one million Poles had migrated and that migration tended to have only a transitory impact on unemployment but a permanent impact on productivity (Barrell et al, 2006:198). Migration kept inflation down as lower wage settlements could be agreed due to supply and demand, but unemployment would rise because of migration and although output might eventually rise after four or five years, this would never get back to what it was before (Barrell et al, 2006: 197).

On average it was estimated that the migrant worker spent longer unemployed than native born workers, but with official data being so inaccurate it was hard to quantify. In addition, public opinion started to turn against the Polish migrants as the home workforce began to perceive that foreign workers were able to find work more easily. There is some evidence of this in that employment statistics indicate that in 2007 more than eighty five per cent of recent Polish migrants were in full-time employment (Drinkwater et al, 2010:83) and in 2011, despite the recession in the UK, the employment rate for Poles was still around eighty five per cent compared to seventy per cent for the UK as a whole (ONS, 2011). This does not take into account that in some cases the jobs the Poles were taking were ones which the British were not prepared to take on themselves. Studies from Australia have also shown that immigration does not affect unemployment as the migrants create as many jobs as they fill (Feridun, 2008:142). This is shown by the number of Polish shops and other services which have been established to cater to the needs of a specific Polish market.

It was inevitable that new arrivals ready and willing to take any job to earn some money were also beginning to target specific areas where there were vacancies. They were not hindered by location. There are social networks which help identify a location where migrants can find accommodation and work upon arrival (Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2008:453). These networks are easily accessed through the internet (Siara, 2009: 170) and continue to grow, offering a practical service to facilitate the migration process for many of the more recent newcomers.

The lack of real statistics on numbers of employed, self employed and unemployed is still unclear. Employment figures change rapidly and are always in arrears, and there may well be large numbers working for cash in hand. The self-employed do not

need to register anywhere and could be far greater than expected, and the unemployed may or may not be claiming benefits. Nevertheless, the numbers of Poles moving to the UK for work was at a peak in 2007 with official figures of six hundred and ninety thousand (Szczerbiak, 2012), with perhaps many more unrecorded. Despite the recession, official figures for 2012 indicate that Polish migrants account for more than six per cent of all immigrants to the UK, the third most popular inflow after China and India (ONS, 2013).

In the light of the large migration flow, the old EU countries stepped in to restructure their welfare and social protection systems but the emphasis was still on full employment and job creation rather than looking at social cohesion (Juhasz, 2006). There had not been any forecasting or anticipation of economic downturn which affects job creation, and the impact this may have on social cohesion within the host countries. With the recession in the UK, it was suggested that the Poles would lose their jobs and go back home (Papdemetriou, Sumption & Somerville, 2009). The reality has been that the Poles were often the ones to retain their jobs while many British workers lost theirs (Krings et al, 2009), and this has added further friction to the whole debate on EU migration. As Moszcynski (2010:152) argues, all research indicates that the post-Accession Polish migrants will settle in the UK.

The 2011 census (ONS, 2012) shows that there has been a nine-fold increase in Polish migrants in the years between 2001 and 2011 and that in March 2011 there were 570,000 Polish migrants resident in the UK. This made Polish-born residents the second largest migrant group after those from India and reflects the popularity of the UK as a destination choice over the past ten years when the EU expanded.

Iglicka (2010) suggests that eighty three per cent of Poles were employed in the UK in 2009, and compared this with the seventy per cent of all working-age adults employed; she also shows that Polish-born residents had a lower unemployment rate of five per cent, compared to the country overall rate of nearly eight per cent. Although there was a decrease from 2009 to 2010 in numbers of Polish workers arriving and applying for the Workers' Registration Scheme (Home Office, 2010), this does not imply that the numbers already in employment decreased. There is therefore a strong incentive for economic migration. Trevena, McGhee and Heath

(2012) carried out a three year longitudinal study of Poles in the UK and suggest that Polish migrants have a greater feeling of security in the UK as the unemployment level in Poland in 2011 was around twelve per cent.

In their study, Trevena et al (2012) also found that employment was a frequent reason for migration of those aged forty five and over, as they were especially prone to long-term unemployment in Poland. This was supported by McKeon (2014), who found that the older age group were at a disadvantage as Polish employers were replacing them with young university graduates. The Labour Force Survey compared data on age groups of Polish migrants and showed that twenty six per cent of Polish-born residents in the UK in 2005 were aged forty five plus (ONS, 2005), and in 2012 ten per cent were in this age group (ONS, 2012). This may seem to demonstrate that fewer older Poles were coming to the UK, but in fact it shows that in the first year of the UK opening its doors to Polish migrants, there were substantially more elderly Poles residing in the UK. These elderly Polish residents were mainly those from previous migrant flows and reflected migrants growing old in the host country. The ONS data from 2005 and 2012 should be reviewed in terms of numbers, as these present the true picture. When looking at the actual numbers, it demonstrates there has been a substantial increase in older migrants; 39,000 were in the age group in 2005, but this had increased to 67,000 by 2012. This indicates that those approaching mid-life were not returning to Poland, and that more older Polish migrants were preparing to make their home in the UK.

1.10 Anti-Polish Sentiments

One of the other negative aspects about the large migration inflow has been media coverage. Outside the large cities, there has been a growth in crimes against Poles and the media have tended to highlight the large number of crimes committed by Poles in the UK (Moszcynski, 2010: 130). This has not always been put into perspective and indeed more recent research shows that crime falls in high immigration areas, particularly neighbourhoods with a large influx of Eastern Europeans (Townsend, 2013). In 2008 the Polish Federation of Great Britain appealed to the Press Complaints Commission about the *Daily Mail* publishing articles demonstrating an anti-Polish sentiment (Brook, 2008). Nevertheless, anti-

Polish feelings have been particularly noticeable among the UK residents with low levels of economic or social achievement (Svasek, 2009: 134; Moszcynski, 2010: 130), who may perceive these migrants as a threat to their own livelihood. This is especially difficult for Polish migrants who live in such communities, and who do not have the resources to move into more middle-class spaces.

It is largely the numeric importance of the Polish migration flow that increases such anti-Polish sentiment; whereas it was previously reserved for Asian groups, the Poles are the new arrivals perceived as threatening British communities (Egbert, 2010: 352). However, they have been relatively well received compared with Asians, African Caribbeans and Irish before them. Any one ethnic group entering another country in such numbers in such a short period of time is bound to cause unease. This has to some extent been exacerbated by the UK entering a recession shortly after Accession. Although there is no link between the two events, it has been expedient for those most affected by the economic downturn to have found a scapegoat in the form of the new arrivals. As mentioned earlier, the media coverage has served to perpetuate this image, often through the use of sensationalised headlines. Headlines are used by readers to process understanding and construct an overall meaning of the topic (van Dijk, 1991: 50), therefore they can influence perceptions. There is, however, an ambivalent attitude towards migrants and, as will be shown in Chapter three, these older participants have differing views and experiences of life in the UK as economic migrants.

1.11 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is that it highlights the issues of older economic migrants, which is an area which has not been well researched. Gillingham (2010) shows that, although the A8 migrants are mostly young workers, there has been a change in the age structure with an increase in the proportion of older migrant workers into the UK between 2004 and 2009. This study focuses on the experiences of older Polish migrants arriving in the UK and is in contrast to the numerous studies on younger migrants.

1.12 Chapter Outline

There are six chapters in this study. Chapter two outlines the research approach and how the interviewees were identified. It then discusses the interviewing process and presents the themes upon which this study is based, all of which have an underlying and recurring theme of age. Furthermore, the chapter provides more detail on the research plan and design, the analysis of the data, and reflects on the methods and methodology used for the study.

Chapter three discusses the experiences of older migrants leaving their country and coming to live in the UK. It describes the perceptions and realities of migrant lives and their acceptance in local communities, against a background of media-enhanced anti-Polish sentiments. The chapter discusses their daily lives and issues of housing and employment, and provides an insight into the lifestyles of these older migrants. It also shows the extent of social networking used by these older migrants and demonstrates how they are settling in and finding an identity for themselves in the UK.

Chapter four describes the impact of migration on families and deals with the issue of separation. It outlines the responsibilities placed on older migrants both for ageing parents and for their own children's future prosperity. This chapter presents the motivations which guide older migrants towards making migration decisions, as well as further discussing intentions to settle in the UK. The emotional costs of migration are also demonstrated.

Chapter five presents the difficulties older migrants have when moving from a country with a different language and culture. It describes the strategies they use for communicating and discusses the implications in not being able to speak English. Additionally it discusses whether the language issues may be age-related and whether there may be an argument for developing specific language teaching strategies for older migrants. The role of communication and the use of technology is also explored.

Chapter six is the conclusion of the thesis and highlights the contribution to knowledge made by this study. It discusses the strengths and opportunities arising from the study and identifies areas for further research.

1.13 Summary and Conclusion

Age is the recurring theme throughout this thesis as it focuses on the older migrants making a new home for themselves in a foreign cultural environment, whilst living lives embracing two geographical spaces. It follows these migrants as they embark on a new transitional stage in their life course, leaving behind, yet still being attached to their homeland. As their stories unfold, the thesis provides more understanding of the emotional costs involved in moving countries when older, and how these migrants are burdened with responsibilities. It shows the realities of lived experiences as an older migrant in the UK and gives voice to a minority migrant population which deserves to be heard.

Chapter 2 Methods and Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the way in which the identification of interviewees for the research took place and the process for collecting data. The methodology for this study has been an oral history approach, which involves participants giving their perception of events. As Sommer & Quinlan (2009) comment, oral history makes history come alive as it is from the unique perspective of individuals. This enables themes to be explored, compared and contrasted; all views are valid and valued. Validity is determined by confidence, credibility and trustworthiness in the process (Leavy, 2011) and several strategies have been employed to this avail. Leavy (2011) suggests triangulation, bringing multiple voices into the write-up, and dealing with alternate interpretations to the data. It is hoped that all of these have been used successfully in this study. In addition to the interviews, a survey was carried out, and other different sources of data were used to support the interviews; these included official papers, and factual reports.

A review of literature has also been employed to give confidence in the analysis of data from these interviews. The nature of oral history interviews means that they must inevitably be subjective but Yow (2005) argues that the reliability or consistency in the testimony can be checked by further questioning during the interview, and the validity or accuracy in relating factual information can be checked by consulting other sources and comparing accounts. This chapter explains how the participants were identified and the difficulties in locating those of an older age group, despite the considerable number of older migrants living in the UK. All the names of the participants in this study have been changed to protect their identity, and they all signed consent forms to allow their stories to be told. Informed consent was important to the integrity of this study as personal accounts were being communicated and the information being exchanged was likely to be of a confidential nature.

2.2 Research Design

The design of the study depended on two fundamental types of research questions which were implicit in the overarching research question of “To what extent is age

the defining factor in economic migration?" These implicit questions related to a description of events and an explanation of these events when put into the context of age. The large numbers of migrants from Poland to the UK after Accession, the economic motivation, and the significant number of older migrants among them showed that this was a target group which needed to be explored.

In order to investigate this particular age group, and to understand the complexities of their migratory journey, an oral history narrative approach was considered more appropriate as all the different voices could be heard and valued. Although the participants were all within the context of Polish migration post 2004, they all had different stories to tell, and they needed to be encouraged to tell these stories. The interview questions therefore needed to be kept semi-structured, allowing the participants to talk about their lives, but at the same time provide the information enabling the research question to be answered. This required much thought and I feel that in the initial interviews some of the questions may have been too direct, rather than gently probing, but the experience of interviewing allowed me to develop more appropriate skills and improve as my confidence grew and I became more relaxed in my interviewing style. I may have been too anxious to get the right answers in the beginning, whereas the responses from ensuing interviews continued to provide the information I was seeking. Inviting respondents to "tell me about" elicited more strands of information than asking "when? what?" and other direct questions. The design of questions for an interview is a significant factor in the success of the response from the interviewee. They must enable a communication link to be developed, which can build trust both in the integrity of the interviewer and in the quality and validity of the response. I felt that the approach I took gave participants the impression that I was really interested in their stories, and the interview was not seen simply as a means of gaining information from them.

Narrative research methodology is very suitable for providing an understanding of life experiences (Jin, 2011) but it is important that the narrative approach within an oral history framework is seen as events in context. Emmott (1999:134) suggests that individuals need to be placed in time and space for any understanding or interpretation of these events. Whilst narrative research provides some very rich qualitative data, Kim (2008) warns that there are certain challenging issues involved in using this approach. One of the issues is that it involves more subjective and self-

reflective skills, so that too much emphasis may be placed on the researcher's personal meaning of the phenomena (Kim, 2008). Kim (2008) suggests that different voices must be heard and that all these voices are regarded as equally valid; they should also be looked at from historical and social perspectives and differing views should be valued.

The questions asked by the researcher during an interview build the narrative by intervening to ascertain the context of the events under discussion (McMahan and Rogers, 1994:13). This oral history is a narrative provoking analysis on the part of the researcher through the questions being asked, and on the part of the interviewee through the story they are telling in response to those questions (McMahan et al, 1994:13). Jones (2004) argues that the oral history interview is the starting point of creating a narrative as all the voices need to be blended, and therefore the position of the researcher is important as it will reflect the understanding and meaning elicited from these interviews. Schneider (2002: 111) suggests that the real value of an oral history methodology is in being able to show the way respondents face and respond to a variety of conditions over their lifetime, and that the life history approach encourages people to speak freely of their experiences. This was a key factor in the choice of this particular approach for this study. The respondents were encouraged to discuss a wide range of experiences throughout their lives and there was no specific focus on one aspect, thus enabling them to give a more contextual construct. Georgakopoulou (2006) suggests that narrative discourse makes sense of our lives and "involves meaning making, ordering and structuring of the experience". As Janesick (2007) argues, there is no one set explanation or interpretation for oral history. It was therefore decided that analysis of the data would focus on highlighting themes important to the older migrants so that the study could be placed within a theoretical framework and provide more understanding of this age group. Within this age group I was prepared to find both similarities and differences as individuals construct their own meaning of experiences and events. At the lower end of the age range there would likely be families with young children, whilst others could be nearing retirement age with adult children; they would be divided by gender and background, but overall they would represent a picture of the migration experience for older working age migrants.

2.3 Identifying the age group

The interviews took place over a period from May 2010 to September 2011 and were held in various locations. The challenge was to find Polish migrants over the age of forty five who had taken advantage of the Accession policy which had come into operation in 2004, allowing them free access to the United Kingdom. Although it was estimated that about seven per cent of all East European migrants are over forty five (Trevena, 2009; Gidley et al, 2010), and indeed that ten per cent of all Polish migrants are of this age (ONS, 2012), it has been more difficult to locate them as they tend not to be as accessible as younger age groups. Eide and Allen (2005) describe how they recruited participants for their transcultural research project in Hawaii and suggest that contacts from within the community are needed as disclosing both positive and negative experiences of one's life requires trust in the recipient. Trust is crucial to the relationship between interviewer and participant (Hardin & McFarland, 2000; Pletsch, Howe & Tenney, 1995; Shavers, Lynch & Burmeister, 2002) and this can be more difficult to build when they do not share the same culture (Eide & Allen, 2005). It was therefore essential to this study that trust was built by using intermediaries from the Polish community.

However, this older age group were more hidden as they do not mix so readily with other Polish people apart from in the workplace, and the existing social networks do not help in identifying such older migrants. This was a challenge which had not been identified in previous studies, where snowballing techniques had been more successful in accessing transcultural participants and where age was not so specific to the research. Kopnina (2005) describes how she made contact with geographically dispersed Russian migrants in cities without established Russian communities; she used a snowball method when dealing with such an "invisible community", but admits that it took considerable effort in finding and establishing contacts with the group. However, within the specified age group of Polish migrants there were few formal or informal networks which could be utilised for such snowball methods, where one contact leads to another.

Poros (2011) classifies migrant networks as being interpersonal, where families and friends encourage migration to particular places, or organisational, where work opportunities dictate the destination; often these networks are a combination of both. Many of these older migrants came to join family or friends and Poros (2011)

confirms that this does in fact limit access to different opportunities as can be seen by the way older migrants stay with their families and do not socialise outside the family environment. Those in Polish speaking workplaces are often on contracts and are placed on these short-term contracts through agencies which recruit only through the Polish community. Although they are involved in a social network through work contacts, they are nevertheless more transient and therefore difficult to locate. Moreover, their co-workers often do not have enough interest in them to encourage any socialising outside the workplace. Whilst Elrick & Brinkmeier (2009) find that networks in communities in Poland linked with social networks in Britain, this was not the case with these older migrants. Younger migrants may take up such opportunities, but it is more complex with older migrants. They do not come from similar backgrounds, nor from the same communities in Poland; they therefore do not follow a pattern which can be easily tracked. This makes the sample more interesting as they have such different stories to tell, but it is not an easy target group to find.

Currie (2008) suggests that the two main communities in the UK are those of the long-established group who moved after the Second World War, and the new younger post-Accession community which has developed. Given the age group, it was thought that the more traditional older community might prove to be more beneficial in trying to access older migrants. However, when approached, the established community groups expressed some disappointment that they had not been seen as a focal point by the new arrivals.

I have access to many foreign born residents as I run a language centre, which delivers English language training to those whose first language is not English. Initially I drew upon the help of a young Polish teacher, who was given full information about the research project. She was one of the founders of a Polish networking group in Milton Keynes and had close contact with the local Polish shops. Despite these connections, she found it hard to help me identify anyone within the specified age group. The members of the Polish group were mainly in their 20s and 30s, and simply did not know any older Polish people. She also taught in a Polish school on Saturdays, but again the parents were all younger. I requested help from the parish priest in the local Polish church but he was unable to identify any older migrants, who might be willing to participate. Even the Polish shop-keepers tried to

help by allowing cards to be placed in their windows, but nobody came forward, and they admitted they catered mainly to younger Polish shoppers, suggesting that older people with families probably used supermarkets for buying in bulk more cheaply. Several other Polish people, including three young professionals working for my company, were approached for help but their circles did not include these older migrants.

In an attempt to facilitate the identification of suitable interviewees, it was suggested that a small reimbursement should be paid for their time, or towards their travel if they were coming to a given location where the interview would take place. This was set at no more than £10 per person, and it was made clear that this was not payment in return for information, rather that it was a goodwill gesture for them giving up their valuable time. This was one of several possible solutions suggested by the Polish interpreters, who felt that some of the potential contacts could perceive this as being that their participation was valued. Previous research studies indicate that economically disadvantaged individuals are less likely to participate without some small financial incentive, which they see as compensation for their time (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Slomka et al, 2007). Not all the interviewees in this study were reimbursed as some wanted to participate in the research voluntarily, simply because the subject interested them. However, these were mainly those who were more financially secure.

The first eight interviews took place locally and I had an interpreter on hand to help with interpreting, and I then transcribed these recordings. As a further precaution, the recordings were then transcribed separately by a second Polish interpreter to ensure accuracy. Over the next few months it continued to be problematic trying to locate this age group. Various techniques were used, such as talking to young Polish students attending language classes, locating other local Catholic churches, trying online chat rooms and contacting a number of migrant networks. Even the incentive of paying for their time did not bring forth any possible interviewees. This was surprising, given that later respondents spoke of attending the Catholic church, but it is possible they were not regular attendees and therefore not available at the time of contact. It is also possible that more time could have been spent in developing relationships of trust within the churches. In the early summer of 2011 it was suggested that specific neighbourhoods in Leicester, such as Highfields, Fosse and

Narborough Road, were targeted and a plan was drawn up which identified streets where Polish people were likely to congregate. In terms of the age group, this area was much more productive. However, a number of the people approached did not agree to be interviewed as they felt it was some kind of authority and they would not give their details. On one occasion one woman carried out a full interview and then withdrew her consent. Many hours were spent on the streets of Leicester and altogether seventeen of the interviews came from this area.

At the same time as the Leicester interviews were taking place, I asked contacts in migrant networks to try and identify any potential interviewees in Birmingham, Sheffield and Derby. They located three people for me to interview in Peterborough, although more were expected as there is a high Polish presence in that area. However, the more accessible Polish people continued to be younger. I had used online networking to try and access the older age group and one interviewee came from Linked-In, whilst another came from a well-established Polish social group in Wolverhampton. The Polish translators I accessed through websites such as the Institute of Linguists were unable to help, being either too young, or having been resident in the UK for more than twenty years. There were three more interviews identified through a contact, who trained Polish people in the workplace. This was where a snowball method did come into effect as she introduced a Polish manager in a food factory whose wife was a teacher and her students knew some older migrants. The interviews were carried out in Dagenham with the assistance of this Polish couple, who translated the questions and responses and helped with the translation. This then completed a total of thirty five interviews.

2.4 Use of Translators and Interpreters

As mentioned, I used translators and interpreters in this study. They translated the consent forms and the questionnaires into Polish, and interpreted during the interviews. All of the interviewees were required to sign consent forms to allow their recordings to be used for the purposes of this study, and to ensure complete understanding of what was required, I felt that these needed to be in Polish. There was a need to use interpreters as my very limited knowledge of Polish was not sufficient to carry out the research effectively and I therefore was able to get help

with translation both verbally and written. Without such help it would not have been possible to carry out this research and to access the “hidden voices” of these older migrants (Kagan & Lewis, 1998: 6). The interpreters and translators were paid at the rate of £10 per hour for their work; this was also negotiated at a lower rate than normal as all were professional and could have commanded a higher fee. Access to the interpreters and translators was facilitated by my position as an employer in the language industry.

I ensured that a Polish interpreter was available to help with all the interviews as I felt that many of the interviewees would be more comfortable linguistically with a Polish national. They could also be slightly suspicious of an English person asking them questions, and a Polish national would be able to allay their fears. We understood their reluctance and never tried to persuade anyone to participate unless they showed full willingness. Whereas in Milton Keynes there was a confidence in the integrity of the language centre environment, in Leicester we were approaching people on the street and they may have felt it was simply a market research exercise. It was necessary to be accompanied by a Polish speaker, given that even some of the ones who spoke reasonably good English preferred to carry out the interviews in Polish. Questions were asked in English and then repeated in Polish, and the responses were translated into English. All of these recordings were then transcribed separately by a second interpreter to double check the accuracy.

There is more than one way of translating words from one language to another and translators ultimately interpret from their own perspective (Temple, 2002), which is why it was useful to have the second opinion. If the Polish speakers had been carrying out the interviews on their own, there would likely have been a slightly different result as they produced their own version of what was being said. However, professional translators and interpreters are trained to take an objective viewpoint and to be impartial. It is nevertheless important to be aware that translators can have an impact on the research (Temple, 2002) and to take steps to minimise this impact.

When interpreters were used, it was important that they understood the confidentiality of the information they were collecting and they were fully briefed on this point. The interpreters were professional and understood the need for confidentiality. Using interpreters did not impede my direct involvement with the

interviewees, rather it enhanced the relationship. They were key to accessing the participants initially, but then took a secondary role once the interviews commenced. I ensured that I had eye to eye contact with all the participants and they spoke directly to me. Interpreters were there simply to facilitate communication when there were language issues with lack of vocabulary to explain events. As Etherington (2004: 26) states, it is recognised that there is a subjective element to collecting qualitative data and even interpreters can bring their own personal and cultural histories into the research. However, having an outsider such as myself as a counter-balance to question and probe responses enabled a more objective and reflexive account. Additionally, non-verbal communication plays an important role and my hand gestures and facial expressions helped the participants understand some of the meaning (Aboul-Enein & Ahmed, 2006).

Although some of the interviewees had a good command of the English language, Nicassio et al (1986) and Westermeyer (1990) caution that the extra effort required in communicating in a second language can result in “impoverished accounts”, and Marshall & While (1994) argue that it can affect the accuracy of the data. Murray and Wynne (2001) advocate the use of an interpreter for those whose first language is not English so that the communicative interaction between researcher and participant can be fully expressed. Their study, carried out with older Italian women, suggests that interpreters be independent, properly briefed on their role, and become part of a three-way conversational dialogue; they also recommend that a second interpreter verifies the accuracy of the first interpreter’s translations (Murray & Wynne, 2001). I took notes at the time of the interviews and I checked these against the tapes, and I also had a second interpreter verify the translations. In this way I made every effort to ensure that the data collected was a true and accurate account and addressed the issues of authenticity and validity.

The use of a translator did not seem to impede the way in which the interviews were conducted. It made the communication process easier as, even when the interviewees spoke very good English, many preferred to speak in Polish. This can sometimes happen with languages as the person with a lesser grasp of the language may feel less confidence in using it in front of someone who is better. Where some tried using English, they knew they could always ask for a word or phrase, and they seemed happy to do this. Having a Polish interpreter present also meant that cultural

issues could be minimised and I was able to conduct the interviews in a more relaxed environment. It was also important that I had given the interpreter a full outline of the investigation beforehand so that they knew the boundaries of their role. There was direct communication between the interviewee and me, whilst the interpreter took a secondary role, acting as a conduit in passing a translation of the communication between the two parties. Consequently, a relationship was developed directly between me as the interviewer and the interviewee and this was further enhanced by the face-to-face interaction as messages were also conveyed non-verbally between us (Musselwhite et al, 2006). This can be a significant factor when dealing with interviewees whose first language is not English as it creates a strong communicative link.

There is some debate on the use of translators and interpreters when interviewing foreign language speakers. Much of this relates to the choice of words for the translation and, as Temple (2006) suggests, this is dependent on the experience of the translator. It is also dependent on the awareness and experience of the researcher as an interviewer. My own work as a languages teacher has made me very aware of the complexities of translation and understanding the meaning conferred. Throughout the interviews I did query some of the words and meanings chosen by the interpreter where I felt there may have been some discrepancy, and I asked for clarification. On occasions I repeated the question in another way to check the answer given. It should be recognised, however, that there will always be different perceptions of meanings, even when there is no language barrier, and sometimes the translation process allows more clarification of word choices than there would be otherwise. Translating from one language to another is not an exact science and all professional interpreters and translators are trained in picking up nuances in meaning. How something is said is just as important as what is said (Temple, 2006) and I was able to observe the expressions and body language of the interviewees. My own role in the research was very clear; I was carrying out the research with the help of an interpreter.

It was important to establish a friendly relationship between the interviewer and interviewee before the questions were asked, as personal questions were being asked about the lives of the interviewees. Ganga and Scott (2006) suggest that researchers should develop a rapport to compensate for social differences, but I did

not feel that any of the participants was either socially inferior or socially superior to me; I was aware that there were differences but I was mainly interested in the stories they had to tell me. To me the participants were simply people who were prepared to share their experiences with me, and they needed a friendly approach from me so that they would feel they could trust me. As I was always accompanied by a Polish interpreter, at the beginning of each interview some time was spent to develop an atmosphere of trust between the parties. This was simply a short social conversation and served to relax the interviewee and also to acknowledge the presence of a tape recorder to ensure that the conversations would be accurately recorded. It was explained that the purpose of this was to ensure that all the discussions could be transcribed after the interview. Once the interview started, I was able to take a more objective stance, whilst at the same time remaining an interested party, welcoming responses. Although the conversations were being taped, I also took notes which indicated my attention to what was being discussed, and also allowed me to pick up small points and question further. Cohen et al (2007) suggest that the interview should be regarded as “a shared, negotiated and dynamic social moment” and there was a certain amount of interaction between me and the interviewee. I was able to make encouraging comments which elicited further responses and prevented a straight question and answer interview, but instead took on the form of a conversation. It was always my interest in what was being said which led to a flow of information from the respondent.

2.5 Interviews

The sample size for this study was originally anticipated as being 30 Polish migrants over the age of forty five when they migrated from Poland to the UK in the period after 2004. As the appendix will show, the sample size increased to 35 and presented six participants who were under that specified age when they first arrived in the UK, although all bar one were over forty five when interviewed; some had actually been in the UK for longer than anticipated. This was not identified until the interviews were taking place, when some of the participants disclosed during the interview process that they had migrated before the specified age. There may have been some misunderstanding at the recruitment stage as people were asked if they were over the age of 45 when they migrated; they could have taken this to be that they were over the age of 45 and had migrated. They could have been excluded

from these results as Cohen et al (2007) suggest that thirty is the minimum number of cases needed for research and there were already 29 identified; it would therefore have required just one more interviewee within the specified criteria to be identified. However, the stories from all these participants were valuable and I decided that the criteria could be extended to include the six who were not quite 45 when they actually left Poland. This investigation consequently provided samples of 35 in-depth interviews, and the differences in age when they migrated have been used to show nuances within the age group. I feel this has been positive for this study and has added to the understanding of older migrants, as it has enabled an exploration of whether the migration experience changes according to time spent in the UK. As the samples were taken from both men and women, from different social backgrounds, on both temporary and more permanent visits, and from various locations across the UK, it is felt that they are representative of the target group as much as possible within the confines of this study. All the interviews were carried out within a timescale of eighteen months to ensure that there were no great variables in the context in which the interviews were given.

From the first few interviews there were certain themes starting to emerge, and more emphasis was placed on focusing the discussions towards these specific themes in the ensuing interviews. This follows a grounded theory approach, which is often commonly seen in oral history interviews. Although the interviews were still using open question techniques, slightly more structure was used to probe the emerging themes. Reflexivity was employed as the interviewing process continued and I sought to gain an understanding of the predicaments and situations these older migrants experienced. Finlay (2003) defines the researcher as being: “a central figure who actively constructs the collection, selection and interpretation of data” and the interviews were very much a collaboration between the researcher and the interviewee as relationships were developed and themes were explored.

In order to address validity and reliability, the questions for the interviews were kept open so that they could elicit information from the interviewee, which could then be questioned in depth where required. The initial interviews were more of an exploratory nature as there were no preconceived ideas for the topics which would be covered. However, after analysis of the first few interviews, it was noted that a pattern was emerging and that certain themes were recurring. As mentioned above,

this led to more targeted questioning in later interviews, although ample opportunity was still given for interviewees to introduce any further topics relevant to the broader theme of the enquiry. The nature of the study and the narrative approach encouraged a semi - structured interview, as this allowed interviewees to focus on specific areas of their life course which were relevant to the investigation, but which left them free to disclose information which they wanted to divulge. To check that the information was reliable, the interviews could later be cross-referenced to the questionnaires which were carried out after the interviews.

As the chapters were being written up in draft form, it was felt that further investigation was needed to clarify a specific area, and consequently another two hour interview took place with one of the original respondents. Some of the interviews took place in a meeting room at the language centre, some in a café, a number in the respondents' own homes, and some by Skype. This is an indication of how interviewing techniques have been enhanced by the use of technology; Skype is now accepted as a communication tool for both business and personal life, and these older migrants have certainly embraced this technology. The virtual reality of Skype makes geographical spaces smaller and it enabled these interviews to take place at a time and place to suit the participants. Without the benefits of Skype, some of these interviews would not have taken place, as the participants were not always willing to meet in public places, and were sometimes reluctant to invite me into their home. This was understandable as I was a stranger and the Polish interpreter accompanying me was also not known to them. Skype was seen as a good compromise. All the participants were comfortable with their surroundings, and this also applied to those being interviewed by Skype. These older migrants are very familiar with using Skype and were happy to be interviewed in this way. It was also beneficial that I was within the same age group as the interviewees.

However, although I had a good rapport with the participants on Skype, there was not the same interaction as in a face-to-face interview. The opportunity for interpreting body language and reactions was not available, due to the constrictions of webcams and computer screens focusing on a limited space; I was also seated alongside the interpreter and the participant sometimes tended to speak directly to the interpreter rather than to me. It was fortunate that the Skype sessions were not disrupted as dropping calls is one of the drawbacks of the system, and it then

becomes frustrating when trying to continue a discussion at the exact point it was left off. Another disadvantage when using Skype can be the quality of the image of the participant as the lighting may not be effective, or the camera may not be very good. If these challenges can be overcome, then Skype offers a communication medium which can be used to the interviewer's advantage, as it allows access which may not be otherwise possible.

When the interviews were carried out in homes, I was always treated as a welcome guest and care had been taken to provide refreshments. These were invariably Polish cakes baked by the female interviewees, and this also helped to establish the relationship between me and the interviewee. I am experienced in interviewing in other situations not related to research, and this also helped in putting the respondents at ease. My work as the head of a language centre means that I have daily contact with foreign workers and students. I carry out interviews as part of my role as an employer and my background is in foreign language teaching, so I am very aware of cultural differences and I appreciate the diversity provided by other nationalities. My interest in finding out more about other cultures was probably evident in the way I conducted the interviews, and I was always prepared to ask for clarification. With this particular age group I believe that my own age helped me to understand and relate to the people I was interviewing, and that they were more prepared to talk to me as an equal. Additionally, my experiences as a migrant to the UK meant that I was more able to empathise and have an insight into the challenges of migration.

Being an insider can make researchers more accepted but Ganga and Scott (2006) warn that it can also affect the way that others perceive us and we should be aware of this. Chavez (2008) also advises that insiders can be too positive or even negligent in questioning areas due to familiarity with them. Positionality is a complex issue; although you may feel there are certain advantages in gaining access to interviewees because you are regarded as an insider, you may also be made more aware of the social differences between you and the interviewees (Ganga & Scott, 2006). However, my positionality could not be defined as insider research as I was looking at migration from a different perspective. I did not have the same language issues encountered by these participants; I was much younger when I arrived in the UK; I had the same cultural and ancestral background as the indigenous population;

and I did not migrate for economic reasons. Nevertheless, I had a certain understanding of the issues involved which could be regarded as an asset, given that positionality is a concept which acknowledges our similarities and includes a variety of positions that are relational (Martin & Van Gunten, 2002). My location between current age group and own migrant background has informed my perspective and this study.

Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that there are very few cases where the researcher is completely an insider or an outsider and they call this “the space between”. The position can change according to context and interviewee (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Ganga & Scott, 2006); the social differences can relate to age, education, culture, work, or even location. This can impact on the way in which the researcher may impose his or her own values, beliefs and perceptions on the participants (Chavez, 2006), and therefore it is always important to reflect on these differences. Some of the participants I interviewed were educated to university level, whereas others had left school very early; some were from professional backgrounds; some lived in areas which were predominantly middle-class, whilst others shared high-density accommodation. Ryan et al (2008) argue that the ability to engage with others may depend upon cultural capital and I did find it easier to interview those from professional and educated backgrounds as they were more articulate, but alternatively I did find the stories of others from backgrounds dissimilar to my own more interesting. In this way I can identify with the observation by Chavez (2006) when she suggests that being an insider may result in the researcher not probing enough when the context is familiar. However, I feel that the participants with whom I may have had more in common were more inclined to speak more fully around each area questioned; they were more reflective about their experiences.

Ganga and Scott (2006) suggest that older migrants are more distrustful of being interviewed for research purposes as they put a certain value on privacy. I am aware that there may have been areas which interviewees did not wish to disclose to me, and on one occasion one participant did tell me that talking about his mother’s illness was a private matter. There was also another occasion when one woman carried out the interview and then changed her mind about giving consent. It is a privilege to be able to get people to talk about their lives to a stranger and, as an interviewer, I must be both an intent listener and facilitator (Chavez, 2006); my questioning was never

intrusive but designed to allow participants to divulge as much as they wanted to tell me, while at the same time directed to elicit specific information.

Ryan (2008a) emphasises the emotional dynamic when interviewing and how the responses from some participants may trigger an unconscious emotional response from within the interviewer, as something similar is evoked in his or her own background. At the time of the interviews I listened and took a suitably sympathetic approach which was both approachable yet professional. However, when reading through the transcripts later, it struck me that the separation of families, particularly of the different generations, was something I too was experiencing, and I felt a sense of loss. Families in different countries may not be that far in distance with modern technology and transport, but they are steadily growing apart in cultural experiences. Traditions are being lost forever as they are no longer being handed down through the generations; grandparents are not there to recount and maintain histories and even on visits may struggle to find common ground with children growing up in another country and culture.

2.6 Analysing Qualitative Data

The analysis of the interviews was inevitably time consuming but rewarding. All the data relating to each theme had to be extracted and, as the themes were constantly evolving, this meant that each interview transcript was constantly scrutinised. This was carried out by reading and reflecting and it also served as a very useful way of becoming very familiar with all the data presented. It was of much more value to be able to contextualise the data in this way rather than depend on computer generated analysis. There were areas where interpretation of the data was nuanced and this would have been lost if taken out of context.

Oral history provides rich data which give different perspectives on events. The challenge lies in analysing such qualitative data, as so many ideas can be introduced. When structured or semi-structured questions are asked, then it may be possible to use thematic coding, which is a simple way of placing ideas into categories. This then allows patterns or themes to be identified and developed. Boyatzis (1998: vii) defines thematic analysis as a process of “encoding qualitative information” and the codes are the key words or phrases that can label specific sections of the data. For the purposes of this study, coding was carried out by

reading and re-reading the interview transcripts in an attempt to identify such key words and phrases.

This was all conducted as a pen and paper exercise. It was not a straightforward task as the interviewees tended to introduce words and phrases relating to each other throughout their interviews; they were not all neatly placed in one section. This required me to go back and read each interview many times before I could start to place words into categories. Slowly some themes started to emerge in the initial interviews which took place and I was able to develop these more as the later interviews were conducted.

Throughout the study the themes were an evolving area of investigation and consequently an iterative framework was being used for analysing the data from the interviews. This is a reflexive process whereby the themes emerge from the data, depending on what the researcher wants to know (Srivastava et al, 2009). Although there is an overarching theme of age in this study, the emerging sub-themes have been the focus of the chapters. Analysis of the qualitative data from the interviews was subject to constant reflexivity as I investigated specific themes being identified. This also led to later interviews becoming more focused as this reflexivity identified areas which needed more investigation.

As Attride-Stirling (2001) argues, it is important that material is analysed methodically; she suggests a way of organising a thematic analysis through a three-stage process. Data reduction is an important strategy (Lee & Fielding, 1996) and using a coding framework based on specific topics or words can be implemented to identify meaningful segments of text (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Themes can then be extracted and the data can be further reduced into these themes; as Attride-Stirling (2001) suggests, this does require a great deal of interpretative work. The final stage is in linking all the topics originally identified to the limited number of themes, which then allows further analysis of the data. In breaking down the data from the interviews, I was constantly carrying out this process. Once I had identified specific phrases or words and linked them to a limited number of themes, I revisited the data to interpret them within the context they were introduced. Original themes were related to the political environment, social networks, motivation for migration, loneliness and identity. As the data were analysed it became evident that loneliness

and social networks did not feature prominently but language was a significant factor. It was not until all the interviews had been completed that it was possible to identify the most significant themes coming from the data: these were the emotional effects of leaving the homeland, divided families, lifestyle and language. This was finally categorised into the migration experience overall, the effect on families, and language was expanded to include communication; these all form the themed chapters in this study. Secondary themes such as social networks and identity, which did not feature so prominently, were integrated into these themed chapters.

2.7 Questionnaires

Many studies use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods as one tends to inform the other. In asking individuals to provide stories of their lives, Cresswell (2003) indicates a qualitative strategy is most appropriate but suggests that a mixed methods approach where observations or surveys are mixed with interviews allows triangulation. This investigation was based on a qualitative oral history approach. However, as one of the themes was being analysed, it was felt that not enough information was available to carry out an informed analysis. There have been few comparative studies on issues experienced by younger as opposed to older migrants, and this led to a gap in understanding concerns specific to the older age group. Consequently, a survey was carried out to provide an additional resource and to offer further comparative insights. Although this does not show cause-and-effect, it does allow conclusions to be drawn about the similarities and differences between the two groups of Polish migrants (Reinard, 2006). The data from the survey helped to inform the qualitative data from the interviews, and equally the data from the interviews was strengthened by the comparisons which were provided by the questionnaires.

The questionnaire was compiled to give more understanding of issues to do with English language and was translated into Polish. It was designed originally to provide data for a paper I was presenting at a linguistics conference in New Zealand (McKeon, 2011). This questionnaire was distributed to a number of people and returned by thirty six older Polish migrants plus thirty one in the younger age group under forty five. The younger respondents for the questionnaire were recruited from

language classes and through Polish contacts, while the older ones were predominantly those who had previously been identified within the required age group, but who did not wish to participate in a research interview. The age range for the younger group was from eighteen years old to forty four years old, with a median of twenty nine and a mean of thirty. With the older age group the range was from forty five years old to sixty eight years old, with a median of fifty and a mean of fifty one. This enabled a comparison to be made as overall there was a 20 year difference between the mean ages. It was also possible to identify variables such as gender within those separate groups by comparing those at the top end of the younger age group with those at the bottom end of the older age group and then contrasting within their defined age group. In this way it enabled similarities as well as differences to be highlighted.

A five point Likert scale was used and respondents had to choose the option which most closely represented their view; scaling is used to measure the level of responses and these were rated from 1-to-5 on a disagree – agree scale. Likert gives a summative rating and this rating can then be used to assess whether two groups are statistically different from each other. There were twenty three items to measure.

The results were analysed and, using a t-test to check the statistical difference, identified significant differences between the two groups on five items. These are further discussed in the Languages chapter. A t-test is a statistical tool normally used to compare the means of two small sets of quantitative data. Although there were no other significant differences, overall the scores of the older group members reflected their higher level of happiness with their current lifestyle in the UK, compared to the younger Polish migrants.

These questionnaires were translated into Polish to make it easier for the respondents to complete and, as mentioned above, a number were filled out by older migrants who did not want to be interviewed. They were happy to provide this more general information on the migration experience, whereas they were not willing to discuss details of their lives. This is completely understandable as it can be considered an intrusion of one's private life to be asked to provide such details; although they were assured the data would be confidential and used only for

research purposes, this was not sufficient to reassure some people. The Likert scales employed were also easy for the respondents to use and understand, which may have contributed to the more positive response from them. Cohen et al (2007) argue that such rating scales are a good way of gaining information on attitudes, perceptions and opinions. In this study the participants provided data which could be contrasted and compared between two groups and then analysed. The questionnaires were designed not to take too long to complete and contained twenty three questions, which respondents could work through independently. A cover letter with the questionnaire was also translated into Polish and gave information on the purpose of the research and the auspices under which it was being carried out. The respondents were identified by gender and age. By allowing the respondents to complete the questionnaires in their own time and without the researcher being present, Cohen et al (2007) suggest it is more likely they will produce data which are more honest. I feel it also allowed the participants to have time to read the questions and realise that they were not intrusive; it is also likely they felt less pressured to complete a questionnaire than to be interviewed, where they may have felt they might be asked questions they were unable or unwilling to answer. A questionnaire can be controlled as people choose which questions they wish to answer, but an interview may impose an obligation on people to respond when they may be uncomfortable. It is the unknown dimension which may make potential participants wary of agreeing to an interview, yet happy to complete a questionnaire.

Data analysis for the questionnaires was straightforward. A t-test was carried out and this identified the items where there were differences between the groups on the mean score. The t-test assesses the means scores of two groups and shows where there are statistical differences; it is carried out by SPSS computer software. The data were also analysed numerically to break down the strength of opinion between strongly agreeing and strongly disagreeing. Both the questionnaires and interviews provided valuable data. However, the data from the interviews were richer and more detailed and nuanced. I was also able to develop a relationship with the interviewees and draw more meaningful information from these data. Additionally, I had an image of their face and body language afterwards when I was listening to their interviews and analysing the data, which later helped me in writing up their stories. The identity of these interviewees was real to me and their stories had more resonance. In

comparison the questionnaires offered extra data to inform the qualitative data from the interviews and they validated the perceptions offered in the interviews. The questionnaires were completed independently and were not influenced in any way by the researcher or interpreter and I found that there was a good correlation between both sets of data.

Although using a questionnaire to inform the main study was not part of the original research strategy for this study, it became a very useful and informative tool. This was especially so when exploring the significance of family to older migrants, their expectations and whether proficiency or competence in English language contributed to their sense of wellbeing in the new country. The data from the questionnaires provided a context within which the age dimension was able to be explored more fully and therefore made an important contribution to the findings of this study.

2.8 Summary and Conclusion

Taking an oral history approach to this study enabled a wide range of voices to be heard and this was important for this research as the interviews needed to be blended and contextualised, but each was from a unique perspective. From a researcher viewpoint, this was both interesting and exciting as every interview seemed to add value to the previous one. As the stories unfolded, there were many similarities and yet subtle differences, and this made it easy to demonstrate that I really was interested in what they had to say. The questions asked were designed to allow the participants to speak freely of their experiences and I felt that the environment I created was both friendly and supportive; I was interested in these interviewees and the stories they were telling me. By using the oral history approach, I was able to develop a relationship whereby the interviewees felt able to relate their experiences. Part of this may also be that I was within this age group and was able to understand many of the complexities involved.

The difficulty in identifying interviewees for the study resulted in a wider range of locations being chosen and consequently this has given a more comprehensive insight into the way these older migrants are dealing with their lives in different parts of Britain. They have also come from quite diverse backgrounds and this has added more authenticity to the study. I have described the different ways I tried to locate

older migrants and this explains one way of accessing pioneer migrants; because they were so scattered geographically, there was no simple solution to this. There was a lot of trial and error in attempting different access routes. I feel that, if I had perhaps spent more time in trying to build up trust within specific communities, such as the Polish church, then I may have been more successful in identifying members of the relevant age group; later interviews did suggest that many of the older migrants did attend church. However, this would also have focused on a particular community, and I may not have been able to produce such diverse data from a wide range of backgrounds.

It was only through the assistance of selected Polish people that contact was made with these older migrants as they were well hidden, and also their language skills were often not at a level where they had confidence in divulging information. Some of these potential interviewees were happy to give information but did not want to identify themselves or give any contact details. Although they could not be used for the interviews as they would not sign consent forms, they agreed to complete the more anonymous questionnaires. It was explained to me afterwards that many older people were suspicious of authority and this was the likely reason for some not wanting to be interviewed. They may have perceived that this research was being carried out on behalf of the establishment, and they did not want to be involved. This is understandable in one's own country, let alone a foreign country.

I therefore felt that I was fortunate in that people were willing to speak to me and I attribute much of that to the presence of an approachable Polish interpreter accompanying me. Before any interviews took place, I would have a short social conversation with the participant and the interpreter, and this served to break the ice and establish a rapport between all three of us. It then set the scene for a friendly discussion. In carrying out the interviews, I gained much understanding of the specific age group and their approach to life in a different country. The interviewees all wanted to tell their stories and were appreciative that someone was taking time to listen to them. I believe that listening is a really important interviewing skill and these participants were encouraged to talk about quite personal experiences; whilst I was never intrusive in my approach, I was sometimes surprised at the extent of personal information some were divulging. There was also a lot of emotion involved and this may have been the first occasion when some of these participants had been able to

reveal their true feelings about their migration experience. It is sometimes easier to talk to strangers and it may be that participating in these interviews had a therapeutic effect on some interviewees.

The Skype sessions were also a useful way of conducting interviews with some participants I would not otherwise have been able to access. Given that many of these older migrants use Skype for keeping in touch with their families in Poland, they were entirely comfortable with being interviewed in this way. It was also interesting that the participants opting to be interviewed on Skype were all in their late fifties, indicating that a slightly older age category is confident in using this medium as a means of communication.

Although the questionnaires were not originally devised as part of the study, they became a useful tool as they helped to support the qualitative data from the interviews. They gave me a point of reference for age as I was able to draw comparisons between two sets of data. With the interviews I could note similarities and differences between participants within the age range of 45 to 65, but the questionnaires allowed an additional insight into responses from the older migrants compared and contrasted to those in a younger age category.

Chapter 3 The Migration Experience

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the early influences which may have impacted on the migration decision, and investigate the expectations and experiences of older Polish migrants in the UK. It reviews how they perceive their daily lives in the UK as economic migrants and the opportunities they value. The chapter explores their new lifestyle, their dependence on social networks and their general wellbeing in an attempt to investigate whether these may contribute to their eventual settlement.

Espiritu (2003) argues that, although there is a widespread assumption that the reasons for migrating are mainly economic, it should also be recognised that individual motives are much more complex; the economic reasons are mixed with personal longings, dreams and different possibilities. Segal (2002) agrees and concurs that no single cause is enough to impel people to leave their homeland, their roots, and everything that is familiar to them. Even when they have an option, not all choose to leave, but those who do are bound together by an awareness that the specific needs they want to be fulfilled can only be done outside their country of origin (Segal, 2002: 38). Whatever the causes for migrating may be, the effects on individuals can be considerable and this chapter explores the early Western influences which may have impacted their decision to migrate, the difficulties of the transitional period when Poland changed from a socialist to capitalist society, and how these changes continue to have an effect on their lives. It also considers the emotional costs involved when people are caught between two cultures and when they are trying to make a better future for themselves. Additionally, it looks at the political environment which may have impacted their migratory journey.

Given that it is generally acknowledged that change becomes more difficult with age, it is therefore interesting to investigate the reasons for older people making the decision to migrate. Uprooting oneself from familiar surroundings, even when that environment is difficult, may also impact on quality of life as social cohesion has a significant role in ensuring the well-being of older people (Winterton et al, 2011). In their study of older people in rural Australia, Winterton et al (2011) find that there are many positive benefits to staying in a familiar community, and it must be assumed

that the older migrants will have considered all these factors before moving countries. It is important, therefore, to understand the environment into which Polish migrants, in particular the older migrants, have been placed, but also to understand the environment they have left. This helps to make sense of their journeys.

3.2 Early Influences

The environment in which the Polish migrants grew up has had a strong influence on their attitude and their life course, and the seeds of migration may well have become implanted long before any conscious decision to move countries. However, the trajectory of their life course is a major dynamic in influencing their decision to migrate, as perceptions of where they should be in relation to that stage of their life impacts on their construction of place (Gardner, 2002). Some of the influences have come from the impact of political turbulence on a previous generation. Michalina (56 at the time of the interview) describes her childhood in terms of colour:

Life was unhappy and grey and uneventful, this was the system we lived in. But it was not just that, it was also the influence of my parents on my own life. My mother had been in a concentration camp and she was suffering from a post-traumatic stress that was never treated. There was a lack of understanding, I did not realise how sick my mother was. All I knew was that I had to get away.

Burrell (2008a) also related how Polish migrants talked of escaping the greyness of these years. Prospects in the 1970s were very limited for young people, according to Michalina, and it was almost impossible to get away within Poland; she simply could not afford to rent and her father objected to her moving out. She could not even contemplate living in another country as she did not know anyone living abroad. However, that did not stop her dreaming of another way of life.

We saw beautiful pictures of wealth which did not exist. It was an ideal world. Visually everything seemed so clean, so different. The Western world was colourful, vibrant, there was a smell of potential, the promise of something better.

This relates to Burrell's (2010) account of the magic of Western material culture in the lives of children in late socialist Poland. Burrell (2010) shows that the seeds of migration were already sown in the perceptions of children growing up in Poland in the 1980s, that their memories were of the wonder and enchantment of the West.

This fascination with Western things in their childhood has helped expose post-accession older migrants to a familiarity and connection with Western culture long before they made any decision to migrate.

By 1980 Poland was one of the most polluted countries in Europe. Investment in heavy industry had failed to bring in profits, poor management made it impossible for any kind of competitive trading with the West, and consequently the country could no longer afford the subsidies the government had provided for basic essentials such as food (Kemp-Welch, 2007). It is therefore not difficult to visualise how those living under such a regime might be entranced by the perceived benefits on offer in the West. Hanne (61) went from being a city dweller to country life in a village where her husband had found work in a factory.

We didn't have any shops and it was a very hard life there. I had to learn how to grow our own food and we also had animals such as pigs and chickens but I had never done it before and I was afraid of catching the chickens. And afterwards I even had to kill them on my own. At the time we had to do things ourselves so I was able to sew clothes and also still do some hairdressing. I had a lot of practical skills and I was able to do these things, it was the cheapest way of living there.

Although there is affirmation that life was not easy, Hanne does not speculate that life might have been easier elsewhere. She accepts what had to be done in order to survive. Nevertheless, these experiences would have impacted on her and her children, which may help to explain why two of her children later migrated to Western countries. It is not hard to imagine how the enchantment of material consumerism in the West was in direct contrast to the reality of hardships in their growing years.

For others there was a frustration at being denied the opportunity to go out and explore this enticing Western world for themselves. Justyna (48) wanted to migrate at an early age but that was not possible: "I couldn't do what I always wanted, for example travel abroad, when I was young. My family was in opposition to the Party so I couldn't do anything."

However, there were some whose early lives were already set on a migration path. Michalina (56) had left Poland to travel abroad on a short visit and found that she was unable to return home when Martial Law was imposed in 1980. Instead of the

enticement of the Western world, she experienced loneliness and insecurity in being isolated from her family left behind in Poland.

I was cut off from my family. There were no phone calls, no mail. My father wrote to me every day, being very careful what he was writing, and sometimes one of those letters got through to me and that was the only way I knew what was happening there. I was alone. I got married in the UK because of the situation in Poland, I was looking for security. It was a big mistake and we parted within a few months. I had a friend who was in Paris and we supported each other, I travelled alone to meet her frequently.

Despite the issues she encountered, Michalina is already showing that she is independent, and that she is not afraid of travelling to new countries.

Others did not have the opportunity to experience life outside Poland and it was a difficult time for them. The United States introduced economic sanctions and everything was in short supply, with long queues and price rises of up to 300% (Kemp-Welch, 2007). The standard of living dropped. Krystyna (49) gives a little more detail:

Before 1981 when there was a big problem with political wars, life was good because my parents were working, they had money, we had money for a normal life, it was not expensive. I had holidays, we had money for a normal life to pay bills and pay for holidays. But in the 1980s it was getting worse, because people had money but the shops were all empty, we couldn't buy food or clothes, we had the money but...

The enchantment of the Western world may well have been embedded in these difficult times. Material objects, especially items such as clothing, hygiene products and meat were not available; therefore the attainment of such items became aspirational. There was an awareness, even if still unexpressed, that people lived different lives in other countries (Burrell, 2011a).

Yet others found that the 1980s were a time when they could begin to realise their own dreams. Tomasz (45) says that he opened his own business in 1988.

The rules changed because it was the end of communism so anyone who had the right qualifications could open a medical centre as a private business and I opened a private centre for children. There was a special project at the time for people who were unemployed – if they were able to present a business plan then the jobcentre would pay for it. And the person just needed to pay back the amount they were given and it took just five years to pay back. We just paid back the capital.

This was not the case for the majority of people, and after many years of living under a socialist government, they simply did not have the skills, the qualifications, or the knowledge to start up their own business. Nor could they look elsewhere within the country for work. The average waiting time for a flat in large Polish towns was about twenty years due to underinvestment in the infrastructure, and consequently there were low levels of mobility (Perdue, 1995). Combined with a demoralised system of education and a collapsing health system (Hunter, 1998), the poor housing conditions meant most people were in a worse situation than before. Shortages and unavailability of everyday items created more problems as Brygida (47) describes:

There was a time when salaries were not good and you could not find things in the shops. If you wanted something else, you had to pay a lot of money in shops, where you paid in dollars in special shops. It was a difficult time, especially when I was younger, even to get a couple of things like shampoo and apples as there were long queues. Long queues in winter time.

The difficulties of being a consumer in a shortage economy was also described by Burrell (2008a) where earlier Polish migrants talked about the decline in their standard of living in the mid-1980s. There was scant investment in human capital. Little was done to ensure that the education system met the needs of the country and the workers were not trained to be competent in managerial, financial or general business skills (Hunter et al, 1998; Perdue, 1995). Nunberg et al (1994:268) describe how the training of the Polish civil service was neglected and left many without qualifications; this was later to have an impact on the older workers, who were not able to produce certification to compete in a limited job market. Many young intellectuals and professionals opted to leave Poland, feeling that there were limited opportunities in the country (Hunter et al, 1998). However, not everyone agreed that it was the right time to migrate. Beata, now a 51 year old lawyer, had the idea of migrating, but she chose not to do so at that stage in her life.

I could have come to the UK in the '80s but I felt I needed to stay in Poland. The feeling was that if I and others went, who would be the new Poland? All my friends and colleagues who left in the '80s did not come back, could not come back.

With many older migrants making a conscious decision to improve the quality of their life, it seems that they must be in a position to consider it is the right time for them to do so. Not all people who have the desire and wherewithal to migrate choose to do so, as Segal et al (2011) argue that the opportunity must be ripe for them as well.

Justyna (47) also had the option of leaving years ago when many of her friends did, and indeed she travelled to other countries but she said:

I was comparing what people were saying about Poland, that it was a third world country, with what I was seeing. We were told that we had forty years ahead of us to reach the level of Portugal. But in Lisbon I noticed such huge discrepancies, the areas of poverty, such an unequally developed country, so I thought in Warsaw things were not that bad and that we had a chance to get ahead of them very quickly.

In 1986 Tomasz (46) went to France but was not impressed: "The French did not treat us very well. We stayed outside, we had only cold water to wash, they did not care for us at all. I thought it was better to work for myself in Poland. ...I always thought one day Poland would be just as good as all the other countries."

Emilia (56) also made a decision when she was in her twenties not to move countries: "In 1984 my husband went to France for two weeks and saw the difference between Western countries and Poland and he wanted to live there with me and my daughter. He had an offer of a job there but I preferred to stay in Poland."

The idea of migration was already being considered, even if refuted. Sloan (1996: 101) suggests that life choices are made within the structural and historical context of an individual's life. Whatever is happening in these contexts adds meaning to changes and decision making. The decisions which Gardner (2002: 17) says are guided by the stages individuals have reached in their lives, and include age and the life course, must also include the context within which these decisions are taken.

By 1989 the economy was in a very precarious state and almost everyone was struggling financially. It was not just the enchantment of Western materialism which attracted many, but also the thought of security which led to them leaving their country. People were aware of what was happening within their historical context. Brygida describes people leaving their country as simply travelling. This form of mobility is seen as more romantic (Ahmed et al, 2003: 1) than the concept of migration, which is perceived as a permanent rejection of the home country.

We knew what was going on as we watched the news. Not everything was shown on television but people were going abroad. Not a lot were travelling so everyone knew about it if someone was travelling to America or somewhere. A few of my friends went to different countries, and they stayed there.

The concept of migrating was solidified and these older migrants already had a path which they could follow. They understood that migration could be a solution and they were familiar with the process nearly twenty years before their own decision to migrate. It was not always clear to them at the time that migration could help as they struggled with everyday life, which Krystyna describes.

Problems started when I finished my studies because it was 1989 and there was change in Poland, political change in Poland, and we started having problems finding a job and also financially. In 1989 it nearly started getting better because there were things in the shops, there was money to spend and we could spend because there were things in the shops. We could buy food, we could buy clothes, but all...we had the money, but the prices. Now we had the money but could not afford to buy anything. All the time there was a problem with money because sometimes we had money but not enough, sometimes we didn't have any money.

Their financial problems started to escalate, and continued to do so over the next decade and this was the impetus for Krystyna and her family making the decision to migrate; they were in debt due to the political environment of earlier times. Migration fits into the life course at different stages of people's lives. The opportunities may be there for them, but external factors play a big part in deciding on the right time. Many different elements have an impact on the individual decisions made within the life course and these are structured by external phenomena (Modell, 1989: 24). It is interesting that a number of older migrants have considered moving countries earlier in their life course, and decided against it. For them there was still hope that things would change within their own country, and that there would be improvements. At a later stage in their life, they realise that the improvements have not lived up to expectations and they are faced with the realisation that the next phase of their life may be even more difficult than what has gone before. Decisions about migration are also based on how people view places in relation to their age; attitudes change over the life course (Gardner, 2002: 23).

3.3 Living in Political Transition

It was in 1990 that reforms were set in place to transform the country into a market economy. It seemed to many that this would be a time of new opportunities and However, the market economy changed the labour market significantly, with the impact reaching into the mid 2000s; records show that there was very low labour activity for older people (Ruzik & Perek-Bialas, 2005). This was yet another

transitional period which was very difficult for some people as there was a drastic reduction in the money supply and high interest rates, and further reductions in food subsidies (Hunter et al, 1998). Ownership was to be transferred from state to private enterprise but there was no model or experience to draw upon for this move to entrepreneurship. Whereas they had been protected under socialism, individuals were now expected to be responsible for their own livelihoods. Transition from one political system to another causes upheaval and it is usually ordinary people who are unprepared for these changes. Their whole way of life is turned upside down and their own country becomes an unknown territory. People had expected a better future but the reality was worse than they anticipated; consequently, they felt let down and, as Michalina says, they felt as though their future “had been stolen”. By 1993 the country was in a deep and extended recession (Hunter et al, 1998). No regulatory systems were put in place and corruption was the most serious problem facing this privatisation (Hunter et al, 1998).

With rising unemployment the job prospects for women became very limited, especially if they did not have the skills, education and contacts. Krystyna lost her job in 2002, when she was thirty nine years old: “I stayed home because I could not find work. People who advertised job offers, they didn’t want to employ me because I was old.” This was despite her having a Master’s degree in Science and experience as an engineer. “I worked with a company that deals with traffic lights at crossroads but my occupation was difficult, it was a man’s occupation. In Poland this company did not want women on their staff. It was a big problem for me.”

Yet it was not only women who were affected. Marek describes his own experiences:

A lot of conflicts between politicians made the situation in the job market very difficult for workers, for employees generally. I used to work for a big international company as a regional transport manager responsible for a fleet of about 100 vehicles plus drivers. I lost my job in one day. The management team had been changed. New people came to the company. One of the managers had been promoted to director and his first decision was to remove me. As an explanation he said it’s not personal against you, we just need your position for another person, a friend.

The values that people had grown up with were changing, but the sharp increase in unemployment from 3% in 1990 to 20% in 2003 (Friedlmeier & Friedlmeier, 2012) meant that many people felt they were being squeezed out, as Michalina describes:

I started witnessing some bad things, corruption. I was very disillusioned. I thought they would go to prison for what they were doing. I was a bit frightened by what was going on. Everyone was drinking alcohol, it was an unstable situation. I changed jobs twice, I did not push myself, I sat back waiting for others to appreciate me and the men got all the jobs. I was brought up under communism, we had no competing values. And suddenly in 2007 it became very difficult to find a job, only cleaning jobs were available. All avenues in Poland were shut, I was squeezed out. Regulations started to appear, qualifications were required. They wanted certificates and older people did not have these.

During these transition years education suddenly became important, with four hundred new universities being established to meet demand (Lubiewska, 2012), which explains Michalina's comment about qualifications being needed for jobs. Employers suddenly had a choice of young graduates to fill any available vacancies. Older people who had not had the opportunity of university were at a disadvantage when it came to a competitive job market. However, as Fisk et al (2009) suggest, many employers perceive that older people are unwilling or unable to learn and do not offer them the opportunity to retrain; this simply reinforces in older people's minds that learning is for younger people, not for them (McKeon, 2014).

There is some justification for older people feeling that they were particularly targeted when it came to a lack of employment opportunities in Poland. The employment rates of those aged over fifty five is the lowest in Europe (Zientara, 2008) and for female workers aged over fifty five is just nineteen per cent, compared to well over sixty per cent in the Scandinavian countries (Zientara, 2008). It seems that a combination of age and lack of skills is likely to have been the cause of older people losing jobs. Michalina reports that when her employers told her she would lose her job: "I was told the reason is because I don't have a degree and eventually they started downgrading me, you know suggesting that I'm not clever enough to do those jobs". She also believes it was a political decision: "Basically when you're an aged woman you have no right to exist in Poland."

The experiences of others, however, show that men were equally targeted, although they may have found it easier to pick up short-term, low-paid alternative work. Zygmunt (59), who has been here for eight years, says: "I couldn't get a job back home that would support me and my family. I was over fifty years old and I could not get a proper job again, just short term."

The market economy came suddenly to Poland and people had no experience in dealing with it. Older people in particular found it hard to adapt as they had grown up in a more protective environment. This new capitalist society was foreign to them and, although there was no conscious intent to migrate at this stage, it may well have had a further influence on the later decision to move countries. This was a point made by Burrell (2010), where she linked the possibility of earlier western influences on young people to their eventual migration. The age of the participants in this study is particularly significant as they were mainly young adults at the time of the post-socialist transition. Although their childhood was lived under a socialist regime, their adult experiences were informed by a difficult transitional period in Poland. They were unable to place themselves back in their familiar, safe socialist environment, but they could not see a way forward for them in the new capitalist world, which seemed to be rejecting them. Their lives changed in such a way that they were left confused, and it was harder for them to adapt to such changing circumstances. The jobs they had thought were secure had suddenly disappeared, they no longer knew what they would be doing in the future, and they were worried about how they were going to provide for their young families.

3.4 Expectations of Migration

Migration does not always provide the solution. Zachariasz (45) had to leave his country because he had no choice, he had to find work, but he admits that he has not been able to settle in the new country: "I feel very bad about moving from my country to this one. But what could I do? I could not find work". It is the same with Teresa (50), who had no wish to migrate but had to do so for economic reasons: "I could not find work and had to come here to the UK.....I have not settled well in this country." Although Zachariasz has not had long to adjust to the new culture, having been in the UK for six months, Teresa has been living here for three years. These were very reluctant migrants, not wanting to leave their country but aware that, by staying in Poland, they were unlikely to be able to find work to support themselves and their families. Gold & Anthor (2011: 778) suggest that such older migrants and those with fewer skills and resources are also more likely to encounter difficulties. However, it may be that the reluctance both of these people felt towards relocating has transferred into negative thoughts about the UK. Zachariasz has no family with him, but Teresa is living with her husband and children, which should provide her

with more incentive to settle. A family environment often makes adjustment to a new culture easier, given that so many people perceive their home life to be important for their wellbeing.

Hunt (2005: p.181) suggests that the time of mid-life, possibly between forty and fifty years old, is when people become aware that the next phase of their life may well be more difficult than the first and they may choose to change career or try something new. This may well be why some of those who chose not to migrate when younger, decided upon it at a later stage in their lives, although it does not always work out well for everyone. Agata (45) has still not found that changing direction has improved her life: "I found it very hard leaving my country to come here. I do not think I am well settled here...My life has changed but would not say I am happy with my life ...but it is better than living in Poland." Like Teresa, Agata has been in the UK for some years; she migrated when she was forty years old. After five years she does not think she has settled well, but she may also find that going back to live in Poland will not make her happy either. She admits that life in the UK is better in comparison and it may be that the whole migration experience has unsettled her.

There is no doubt that many people find the transition from their homeland of Poland to the UK a traumatic experience. When asked how she felt about moving from her country to a new one, Teresa responded with one word: "Shocking." This shock at having to leave Poland at their age often results in these older migrants looking back with nostalgia. Yeo (2010) suggests that migrants tend to edit their memories and linger on the more comforting aspects of people and places familiar to them, often expressing their longing in terms of landscape. Michal (48) reminisces: "What I remember most about Poland is beautiful times, beautiful gardens, a beautiful world, but no job." Michal is still aware that the beautiful country could not provide him with a job.

Moving away from family, friends, and everything familiar to start up again in a foreign country, especially one where there are cultural differences, can be a time of personal turbulence. In their study of Indo-Asian immigrants to the UK, Ghosh & Khan (2005) find that migrants have to make many adjustments to their lifestyle and that even though these may appear to be quite trivial, they can lead to increased stress, particularly for older people. They suggest that the ability to deal with change

decreases with age and that it becomes much harder for older migrants to modify their cultural habits which have been consolidated over many years (Ghosh & Khan, 2005: 125). This may partially explain why Agata, Zachariasz and Teresa admit to not having settled well.

Michalina (56) says when she lost her job in Poland and made the decision to come to the UK, it was about trying to find a solution which would enable her to face the future with some confidence:

I could not understand what was going on 'cause I didn't have enough knowledge really, I didn't have, to be honest, I didn't understand what capitalism was....I took it quite badly....I thought I will try, it's not that it felt right, it was very difficult, I didn't feel like moving, I really didn't, all I wanted to do was to die, to end it. I hated the situation, but I knew I had to do something about it and sooner or later, not later because it might be too late. The minute I started thinking about it, I had to follow it 'cause I was afraid not to act upon it and I wanted to find a way to end my days.

Concern about their future has definitely been a significant factor in the migration decision of these older migrants. Age features heavily in their comments, and they are all aware that they do not have the time to continue in Poland without knowing whether they will be able to work again, or whether they face a very uncertain future. Gabriela (52) found that the employment agencies in the UK helped her find work despite her age, and she felt that there was nobody looking for jobs for her in Poland: "It was hard for me to find work in Poland because of my age. It's much easier to find it here. It was not a hard decision for me to come here." It was not just the work which has given her hope for the future. She came to the UK to give support to her daughter, and she was very pleased that she had her daughter with her when she had surgery on her eyes recently, as there would have been nobody in Poland to give her any support.

Zygmunt (59) has also made a conscious decision to secure his future. He has been in the UK for eight years and is now working as a butcher in Leicester:

It was very difficult leaving my wife and two children but I had no choice. I couldn't get a job back home. I want to work here until my retirement at sixty five so that my UK pension and my Polish pension will combine when I retire. I hope I am healthy enough to work until that time but then I want to go back and live in Poland. I was curious about the UK but at the same time I felt sad that I was leaving Poland but I had to as I couldn't find a good enough job back in Poland.

Julia (45), who came to the UK to be with her former neighbour, also feels she has hope for the future: "I am happier now, I used to live my children's lives, but now I have a life of my own....I was very independent in Poland, now I am dependent and I find that hard.... emotionally I am still in Poland with my family there, but I was a very lonely person there without a partner."

In Khoo et al's (2008) study of Australian migrants, lifestyle is one of the main factors for making migration decisions but other factors include serious dissatisfaction with conditions in one's own country, better employment opportunities and social networks of friends and family. King et al (2008) find that for those retiring to Europe the most important reason is climate, followed by health, a slower pace of life, and family connections. These family connections tend to highlight the importance of kin rather than country. Migration decisions are made by families, not individuals, and are made on the basis of maximising income and survival chances: migrants are social beings looking for better outcomes and consequently migratory movements become self-sustaining social processes (Castles, 2004). It then depends on how these social processes meet the motivational factors within the potential migrants' aspirations. Emilia (56) came with expectations, but then found that the reality of life in the UK did not meet those expectations: "When we first came here, we liked the difference, something new which we never saw before, many people here. But we do not like the pace of life here, it is too fast for us and we prefer a quiet place. We prefer to live with people we know around us, where we feel safe." This may also reflect the difficulties that come with age in adjusting to change.

Migration is aspirational but the moving from one culture to another, this change in environment, can lead to disappointment. It is more intense for older migrants as they have more memories than younger people, they can indeed go back to times when they remember they were happy, even although these may have been well in the past, and do not represent the current situation in the home country, which has led to their migration. Making adjustments to their lifestyle takes longer for the older migrants. These difficulties in adjusting to a changing environment are not so evident in younger migrants, who find it much quicker to adapt (Ward et al, 2001).

Marcin (46) has found that the move to this country has not met his expectations, and he is thinking back to times which he has idealised: "I remember a good life in Poland". If his life was so good, and he had a good job, then he would not have needed to migrate to the UK, but he will not admit to this. He is unable to say whether or not he will stay here. In this he is similar to other migrants, such as those seeking a better lifestyle in places like Spain, where Benson & O'Reilly (2009) find that retirees often long for elements of their past life and some are already looking for other places where they might go, as the reality of this good life they had envisaged has not materialised. Wojciech (46) also reflects on what he has left behind: "I always lived in the same place. What I remember most about living there was the trees, the woods, the flowers, the plants. Poland is a beautiful country. I felt terrible when I had to leave my country." Zachariasz is constantly feeling that Poland is calling him back home: "What I most remember about my life in Poland is the lakes. I really enjoyed fishing....It was not hard coming here...but I have not settled here at all. I want to go back."

However, as Boym (2001) argues, nostalgia seems to be a longing for a place, when actually it is a yearning for a different time. The act of reminiscing and the experience of nostalgia can, however, facilitate a meaning to one's life, and provide a place where a sense of identity is kept safe (Wilson, 2005). In associating the homeland with a sense of belonging, migrants can claim an identity which stretches back into their personal family history (Burrell, 2006). It is a defence mechanism in times of upheaval (Boym, 2001) and should be regarded as something which protects and gives comfort. The emotional response that nostalgia evokes can give a feeling of self-worth, of value, and of patriotism, especially when there are cultural changes to confront.

Nostalgia for the homeland simplifies the past and does not take into account the fact that homeland cultures are constantly changing. If and when they do return, people will find that nothing is the same; they themselves have changed as well as the place and there is no going back in time (Wilson, 2005). Some of the older migrants do recognise this, and realise that everything has changed; they appreciate that they did indeed have a choice and were able to move countries after 2004, when Poland became part of the European Union. Henryka (68) is one of those who understands that change has taken place and that she has had to adapt to that

change. She has taken a positive approach to it: "I remember fantastic times but now times are very difficult there so I had to come to England. I am very happy as I think it is good that Poland joined the EU....It was hard to leave Poland but I feel OK here."

There are others who are happy that they have made the decision to leave. Piotr (50) says: "What I remember is work, work, work and lack of money. I felt good about moving countries." Casmir (50) is also glad that he has moved countries: "I did not have a good job there. It was not hard coming to the UK.....The housing is good and I feel good about moving countries. I am happy with my life in the UK."

The survey carried out for this study suggests that older migrants appear generally happier about the change in their environment than the younger ones. Seventy-six per cent of the over forty-fives are happy with their current lifestyle in the UK, compared with forty-eight per cent of those under forty-five. This was surprising in terms of change being harder for older people, and also because it is perceived that younger people have access to a more active social network and would therefore find it easier to adapt. Closer analysis of these figures reveals that the age range for those rating the happiness factor was between 18 and 35 for the younger group and 45 to 66 for the older group, giving a ten year differential between the groups. The mean age for the younger group was 25 and 51 for the older group. It was therefore possible to view these as two separate entities and make the assumption that the older migrants are more satisfied overall with their new life in the UK.

It is possible that older migrants have memories of their past experiences, which have often been challenging in terms of financial well-being, and they are now in a position to compare their life in the UK with the one they have left behind. Cardenas et al (2009) speculate that satisfaction with migration might be affected by changes in expectations: that a better life for a family member might increase hopes for the future. This is more likely with older migrants believing that their children will have a better future in the UK. It is in contrast with younger adults, who tend to have higher aspirations, and the reality of life in the UK may not meet their expectations (Nowicka, 2012). A large proportion of younger migrants have university degrees: this is given as some twenty per cent (Fihel et al, 2009). Whilst many are prepared to start off in low-skilled and low-paid employment when they arrive in the UK, their aspirations change as they adapt to their new lives (Nowicka, 2012), and this is likely

to impact on their satisfaction levels if they cannot find employment more suited to their capabilities and qualifications.

Yet Ullah (2010: 31) argues that younger populations have better labour prospects in the receiving country as they are more willing to take lower paying jobs. With the flow between Poland and the UK, the wage differential has been substantial and it is more likely that they take on jobs lower than their level of education. Kozłowska (2010) finds that this has led to younger migrants undermining the value of the work they do, as they realise that in the West an evaluation of one's worth is made by what one does for a living: it is seen as a loss of social prestige, rather than the non-utilisation of their skills and knowledge. This underemployment also affects older Polish migrants, who make the same sacrifices in taking work beneath their level of qualifications. However, they recognise their limited labour prospects in their own country, and in many cases are grateful to be offered any employment in the host country.

Although this research indicates that the older migrants have a higher satisfaction rate with their new life in the UK compared to their younger compatriots, it must yet be recognised that almost one third of these older migrants indicated that they are not happy. Financial well-being is not the only factor contributing to happiness and the emotional determinant, which can weigh heavily on the mental well-being of migrants, cannot be ignored. Furthermore, it was seen that those who were not happy with their life in the UK were in their forties, fifties and sixties, but all were women; it was therefore gendered. Women may have higher expectations than men, or they may depend more on friends for support and find that they no longer have such social networks in the UK.

Despite all the pull factors which lead to migration, there are often push factors as well. If people were content with their lifestyle in their own country, they would possibly look to migrate internally to look for better opportunities. Migration is seen as the route to a better and more fulfilling way of life in contrast to the one left behind (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). In choosing to leave their country, there is often a link to dissatisfaction with conditions in that country. These may be political or domestic. Khoo et al's (2008) study finds that serious dissatisfaction with their country was high on the list of factors for migrants to Australia and Tacoli (1999) confirms that

dissatisfaction with their life in the Philippines was a prime motivational factor for migrants to Italy. Stark and Taylor (1999) theorise that younger people have a higher degree of dissatisfaction with existing conditions in their country of origin, and that they also have higher levels of aspiration, but older people have more experience to make comparisons and draw conclusions. Beata (51) asserts that:

People are leaving Poland not always because they do not have a job, more for this kind of life you can get here. The country is more organised, that's why they come here. Here they have a job, rent a house, start a family life, save some money as well, even if everything is pretty expensive. In Poland people cannot afford to rent a house, the price is equal to their salary, it's impossible.

Motivation is complex and can be multi-faceted. It is unlikely to be one factor as there are many underlying factors also involved, and it is these which make the difference between those who migrate and those who do not. Economic reasons are involved in some way as most migrants want to improve their lives, to take up an opportunity of making a better life for themselves and their families. However, with older migrants it seems that the push factors are more compelling than the pull factors. Marek (49) came to the UK as soon as Accession made it possible. He decided to leave Poland because he lost hope that things were going to change for the better, and he wanted to make a fresh start.

In Poland in your place of work your first mistake results in dismissal. You feel people watching you every single minute, just to find your first mistake. Here I know I have to work at the right level but I don't feel pressure from my manager. I don't feel they are thinking what they can do to get rid of me. If I make a mistake, it's like listen you should do this, you shouldn't do it like that. This is the good way.

Ahn (2011: 42) suggests that there are both negative and positive push factors, with the negative relating to forced migrations because of natural disasters and political upheaval. The positive push factors include the desire to start anew, explore, and seek opportunities for better lives. Although it may be a significant push factor, older migrants are not so ready to take the first flight out of the country in a search for a better lifestyle. Theirs is a more considered decision, as Irena (47) says: "I was thinking about it for two years before I came here in 2007. My thoughts about migration lasted two years."

The decision to migrate has also been strengthened by migrants' position in their life course, as they feel they are midway through their lives and need to secure their futures. They are still aspirational both for themselves and their children. However, the emotional costs of moving at their age does have an impact as they struggle to come to terms with the way in which they were not able to live their lives in their own country. It is yet an unresolved grief, as Baldassar (2001) suggests, and time will tell whether this can be allayed by a return to the homeland, or whether they see their future as being in the UK. As White (2011: 236) concludes, emotional costs and benefits figure highly in any migration decisions. Although economic reasons may still be valid, the modern world of migration is presenting a far more complex picture in terms of both expectations and reality. There are still many challenges to be considered, despite the opportunities available (Ryan, 2010:99).

One of the differences between the contemporary world and migration in the past is that it is now much easier to move between countries. Air travel has opened up the possibility of spending some time in another country to test opportunities, and then of returning to the home country if all is not well (Burrell, 2011c). Temporary migration has always been in place for seasonal work, even though it may have been related to internal migration. Ascott and Lewis (2000:111) point out that motivations are rarely singular and that they are usually linked to necessity: whilst individuals at different life cycle stages move for very specific reasons, these are often classified within a broader spectrum. This makes motivation difficult to pinpoint, but equally makes sense of the reasons for the limited number of people taking advantage of migration opportunities. It also offers some understanding of the intention to settle in the new country, given that the number of long-term Polish migrants is considerably higher than in the pre-2004 period and has now stabilised, with the UK being the most important destination (Fihel, 2011).

Khoo et al (2008) find that there appear to be strong links between temporary and eventual permanent migration. Their study shows that up to sixty per cent of temporary migrants applied for permanent residence in the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Once migrants have adapted to a certain lifestyle, they may be more reluctant to give that up and return to their own country. However Khoo et al's (2008) study did look at those mainly highly skilled migrants who had been permitted

entry into these particular countries. The same may not apply when looking at groups such as asylum seekers or low skilled workers. Yet this does link to Castle's (2004) argument that the primary migrant is a young person seeking temporary work with the intention of returning home once a specific amount of money has been saved. When this takes longer than anticipated, it evolves into their position within the lifecycle and these young people then get married, have children, and settle. With older migrants, the initial motivations may be similar but more depends on their perception of their lifestyle in the UK compared to what they have left behind in Poland, as to whether their migration is likely to become permanent.

3.5 Life as Economic Migrants

Poles continue to find the UK an attractive destination and the fact that there may be high unemployment rates in the UK has not deterred Polish economic migrants (Day & Beckford, 2012). New arrivals are prepared to tolerate less than ideal working conditions when weighed up against the limited economic opportunities in their homeland (Hickman et al, 2008). It can therefore be assumed that Polish migrants will continue to view the UK as a country which offers them employment. Statistics from 2011 indicate that, although there may have been an economic downturn in the UK which temporarily reduced numbers of arrivals, worsening economic conditions across the EU seem to have resulted in a recent upsurge in newcomers (Longhi & Rokicka, 2012). The rate of unemployment in the UK in January 2011 was 7.8 per cent, whereas in Poland it was 10 per cent (Clark & Hardy, 2011). And as Sofia (62) says: "In the UK people earn more money."

With the large numbers of Polish migrants arriving in the UK over a very short period, it is understandable that there may be a certain amount of disquiet and concern. The media has made much of Eastern Europeans being seen as economic migrants taking away the jobs of those in the host country and not contributing to the economy of their local communities, and Burrell (2009: 8) indicates the negative press coverage directed towards Eastern European migration. The media highlights that those unable to find work are then entitled to benefits paid for by the British taxpayers. This is not supported by empirical studies. Clark and Hardy (2011) argue that A8 workers are far less likely to receive benefits than native workers, and that they actually contribute significantly more to the tax and benefit system than they receive. Longhi and Rokicka's (2012) study shows that, whilst Polish migrants

arriving after enlargement are more likely to be in paid employment, they earn less than their counterparts who arrived before enlargement, and this suggests that the opening of the UK borders in 2004 may have had an impact on the quality of the migrants arriving. However, it could also be evidence that Polish migrants want to work and that they are prepared to take on lower paid employment to achieve their objectives. Marek (49) concurs:

In my opinion I could do a job at a higher level in this country....I think many people have been highly qualified and doing higher jobs in Poland and they come here and find that their qualifications are nothing in this country, that they are not equal because they are different, and that perhaps their level of English prevents them from working at the level they really should be, so they have to take lower jobs and that's happening with a lot of Polish people.

Pollard et al (2008) confirm that the employment rate for A8 migrants is eighty four per cent, considerably higher than the seventy five per cent employment rate for those born in the UK. Whilst it is right to suggest that this is evidence of Polish migrants, who represent the highest proportion of A8 migrants, being highly skilled and motivated (Eade & Garapich, 2009), it is also possible to understand that the indigenous population might resent foreigners supposedly taking away their own employment opportunities. This is especially so in the rural areas: in Hereford in 2012, local residents expressed their resentment by defacing signs to indicate visitors were arriving in Poland, rather than the cathedral city of Hereford (Dawar, 2012). A recent survey found that fifty four per cent of those asked did not want other EU citizens to get jobs in the UK (Clark & Hardy, 2011), but there seems to be a greater incentive for the migrants to find work, than for the local population: "You just need to have any job to survive, it's a starting point," says Wieslaw (55). Wojciech (46) is also quite pragmatic: "I take any job that's paid."

Of the new Accession migrants about sixty per cent were men, according to Home Office figures in 2006, and McDowell (2008: 58) reiterates that the economic migrant gender mix post-Accession has continued to be in the same ratio. Apart from seasonal work, Polish migrants of both sexes are likely to be found in unskilled employment in factories and warehouses, and about eighty per cent of them are getting the minimum wage, despite being graduates or skilled in their own country (House of Commons, 2007: 58).

Instead of looking at migrants in a one-dimensional way, Botterill (2008) suggests there is a case for transnationalism, more along the lines of international citizens. This would mean that migrants should be recognised as having more than one national identity and should be seen as contributing to both countries. By not confining migrants to one country, it would open up new social networks and possibly give access to more equal opportunities. Currently migrants are viewed as human capital and this can alienate them from the UK workers who, rightly or wrongly, consider that they are taking jobs away as they are willing to work for lower wages. Brygida describes her work in a hotel: "It was minimum salary here but more than we could earn in Poland". Andrzej (55) implies that there may even have been some resentment towards him from other UK workers, when he describes his job: "It is hard, physical work. I worked in other industries before but now I like where I am working, among nice Polish people and therefore the atmosphere is very good."

Media reports such as through the *Daily Mail* (2007) have also led to suspicions that Poles send large sums of money earned in the UK back to Poland, consequently not contributing to the long-term economy of the host country:

Polish immigrants sent home almost £1 billion...the cash taken out of the UK economy would otherwise have been spent in shops, restaurants and other businesses here. MPs warned that it could begin to have an impact if the trend continues. Businesses will be forced to tighten their belts if cash paid out in wages is being sent out of the country, rather than spent here.

The extent of remittance outflows was revealed in figures from the World Bank which showed that 174 million Euros was sent home by Poles from Ireland in 2011, although this is nowhere near the 468 million euros sent back by Nigerians living in Ireland (Irish News Review, 2013). The World Bank puts the flow from the UK to Poland in 2011 as more than \$US1.2 billion, stating that this is likely to be a conservative estimate (World Bank, 2012). However, the purpose to which these remittances are put indicates that it is a more complex process than money simply flowing out of one economy to another. Krystyna (49) tells of the first year her husband spent on his own working in the UK:

When my husband was in England for a year we had some money and could take out a mortgage from the bank to buy our flat where my family had lived since the 1930s and now it is all cleared. The mortgage is paid and now it is all ours. Before coming to England I bought this flat and now my parents live

in this flat. The flat is ours and this is better for them. Before I came to England my parents lived in a village near Warsaw in a small house, but it was a problem for them and they sold this house and now live in Warsaw in our flat.

The remittances from Krystyna's husband enabled the family to secure the extended family's future, and made it possible for Krystyna to come and join her husband in the UK, where they are indeed contributing to the UK economy. If it could be seen in a more positive way, where everyone was gaining from the migration, then it would create more social cohesion. However, unless the whole concept of migrant mobility is perceived in a different way, it continues to be viewed from the perspective of the receiving country without full understanding of the international benefits (Mukand, 2012); furthermore, the advantages and disadvantages of migration for communities do not always correspond with those for individuals, as countries lose their younger, more talented people (Mostert et al, 1998:179; Lucas, 2005: 300). Additionally, there has not yet been any research on the impact that losing older individuals may have on a community or country. The values and histories that older people contribute to society are being transferred to another geographic space. In terms of generational values, Twenge's (2010) study of attitudes towards work shows that older people have a stronger work ethic than younger employees, and from an economic perspective, this has to benefit the community in which they are employed. Wiktor (55) says he would like to stay in the UK and he is prepared to work hard: "I work too hard to join anything, I do manual labour. It is always easy finding such work and it pays well."

As McKeon (2014) suggests, unemployment is often a primary motivator for older people migrating and, although this means more work available for those remaining, it is often the case that the better trained workers are the ones who migrate (Mostert et al, 1998: 180). Faluszczak (2008) suggests that one way to alleviate this is more co-operation between countries, more investment in business activity in the sending country and better social support. This would then deter many of the economic migrants as equality of opportunity would mean they could choose to stay in their own environment. However, Krings et al (2009) have looked at the impact of the recession on Poles in Ireland and found that most have remained in employment, but the migration inflows are more sensitive to economic downturn. While there are few jobs, people are not prepared to migrate. It may be that the decision to migrate is not

made solely on economic grounds (Krings et al, 2009) but it certainly seems to be a major factor.

Some of the concerns raised about migration from the Accession countries have been perceptions rather than reality. The main concern has been that Eastern Europeans would take jobs from the Western Europeans (Civitas, 2009). However, the labour migration from Accession countries has been about one per cent of the active working population of host countries, and media reports have often fuelled the discontent of the unemployed in the receiving countries. There were claims that British workers were being refused jobs in the agricultural sector because they did not speak Polish (*Evening Standard*, 2007); that migrants were taking jobs created for local unemployed workers (*Daily Express*, 2012) and that the majority of jobs were going to foreign nationals (*Daily Mail*, 2011). Recently a government website was forced to take down job advertisements which were posted entirely in Polish (*Huffington Post*, 2013).

There is consequently some resentment at the way Polish people are portrayed negatively in the press. Jerzy (58) feels quite strongly about this, even going so far as to opine that other nationalities are not targeted in the same way as the Poles.

What I like is the way the government says it is going to do something, they do it. They know what should be done to govern the country properly. The newspapers in this country do not always say the truth about the Polish people. They say they are taking lots of benefits, they do nothing, but they do not show the best side of our nation, they do not show the benefits the Polish people bring to this country. They do not show how hard the Polish nation work. It is strange they concentrate on the bad things and not the good things, when they do not say the same things about other nations.

It has also been recorded that many Poles are highly critical of the behaviour of other Poles. White (2011: 187) comments that studies show Poles are embarrassed by their fellow countrymen who behave inappropriately in public and Svasek (2009: 129) opines that Polish migrants criticise those who misbehave as they believe it promotes anti-Polish feelings in local communities. Irena (47) is upset when she reads reports of anti-social behaviour. "They shame me. Sometimes they shame me, when I hear about these rude Polish people." It is evident that the older migrants are proud of their identity and their heritage, and they are embarrassed that the bad behaviour of their compatriots is generalised to include them as well.

White (2011: 187) cites Bobek's (2009) work suggesting there is a class dimension whereby the middle-class Poles try and distance themselves from those from more rural backgrounds. Irena is from a middle-class background and consequently tends to support this theory. It is noted that there is an issue with anti-social behaviour from a minority of young Poles, exacerbated by homelessness, alcohol, and mental health problems, and this has placed a burden on social services (Starkey, 2008: 135), which is why it has been highlighted in the media. Although some of the older migrants interviewed for this study could be classified as middle-class, whilst others came from rural backgrounds, there was every indication that they wanted to set a good example. This was possibly because they were more family-oriented. However, in general, they did keep themselves apart from other Poles, whichever background they came from.

The Poles tend to be over-represented in jobs with limited career prospects and this may be because they rely on social contacts to find work: they then find themselves in unskilled work despite a relatively high level of education (Sumption et al, 2009). This could also be attributed to language and cultural confidence as they do not know how to go about finding the right kind of work. However, it hinders upward mobility as they are often working in industries with a high turnover of staff and are grouped together. Consequently, individuals are not valued as they are seen as part of a group. Krystyna told of how she was put on a warehouse contract as all the others were Polish there, and Brygida said that all the others were Polish workers in the hotel where she was offered a job. Jacek also described his work experiences in the UK: "My first job was working with Polish people and Polish supervisors, and the second, and the third..."

It is not always a simple matter of categorising all Polish migrants. Glossop et al's (2009) study of Accession migration in Bristol and Hull concludes that the migrants to Hull have been attracted by factory work, agricultural opportunities and low cost housing and that they use Polish recruitment agencies to find them work. Because the Polish agencies are recruiting Polish workers only, they are not competing with local workers for jobs, as these would not be available to local workers. This compares with Manacorda et al's (2006) study which has found that the areas with the biggest increases in Eastern European migrants have seen the smallest rise in unemployment rates: immigrants and locals are not competing for the same jobs as

the migrants are taking jobs local workers do not want, and are consequently competing against each other.

Glossop et al (2009) find that Polish migrants in Hull have a much lower level of skills and they are much more likely to have been motivated to migrate because they can earn more money in the UK. However, the Poles in Bristol do have much higher level skills and are employed in a wider range of sectors and therefore the situation for them differs. They are the ones who are often working in jobs not in line with their qualifications: one of the main reasons for this is that their foreign qualifications are not recognised by UK employers. This is especially so in teaching and nursing. Irena (47) has been affected by this:

My husband didn't work in Poland, only I worked. He's a mechanic and it was difficult for his profession to find any jobs...but he does what he likes here, exactly the same work he does in Poland in the garage. My dream is to work as a nurse but sometimes I think it's impossible.

Although it is possible to get NARIC recognition of foreign qualifications held, this costs about £200 per qualification and many Poles have not been in a position to afford this before they come to the UK, or they have not been aware of it. Once here it takes time to save up such sums when they are in low paid jobs. In addition, even when they have the recognition, many employers do not think Polish qualifications are as good as those from the UK (Glossop et al, 2009). This unwillingness on the part of British employers to recognise the value of Polish qualifications (Cook et al, 2011) has led to many frustrations, but Marek (49) takes a different view: "Who came to England? Just builders, just lorry drivers and warehouse personnel. No doctors, no teachers. I have chosen this way and I feel equal between my mates from the company. We are all lorry drivers and I feel part of a team. We are workers."

Marek had been part of a management team and had held a position of considerable responsibility in Poland before he was replaced by the director's friend. He does not belong to the category of builders, lorry drivers or warehouse personnel he describes. His own wife was a qualified engineer. He is not recognising that so many professional and qualified Polish migrants have come to the UK, that they may now be working in these positions but they were trained professionals in Poland. However, his attack may be more against the system that let him down, which was

not able to provide professionals who would be accepted on an equal basis across Europe.

There may also be a reluctance on the part of British employers to take on older Polish workers despite their professional qualifications, as most British companies are now advocating continuing professional development (CPD) and there is no culture of lifelong learning in Poland (Gorniak, 2012:225); consequently there may be doubts that the skills the older Polish migrants have are not current and have not been updated. Gorniak (2012:225) argues in his report that it is too late to encourage Poles aged fifty or older to take up learning opportunities; without a culture of updating and developing skills, they cannot understand the value of doing so as they grow older.

Although Agadjanian et al (2008) find that the intention of young people to migrate is dominated by their quest for better economic opportunities, Bauer & Zimmermann (1999) assert that older people usually have fewer economic incentives to migrate. However, it is seen that it is not only the young who are motivated by their financial situation. Krystyna (49) spoke about the financial security they now have in their new life in the UK. She works in a warehouse and she and her family are now satisfied with their life in the UK. In Poland all their money went on paying bills and they had nothing left over, even though two of them were working. They now rent a house for £700 per month and are settled. Krystyna suggests that the financial security they now have impacts on her son's happiness as well.

Here my son is very happy, he loves going to school and this year passed his GCSEs. We rent a house, we have a car, we live together as a family and we have money for everything. No problem. It is a better life and I am very happy living here because all my financial problems stopped when I came here.

It does become more difficult for older people to consider migration to another country where their knowledge and skills are not recognised. Beata (51) would not want to work outside her own area of expertise either. She is in the UK on a temporary basis, and she would like to stay, but she has reservations about that. "I like my job, it's what I trained for. Despite the fact of language barriers, Polish studies are too low, not recognised here. I would not be able to work as a prosecutor here but as a lawyer in different kinds of jobs, I probably could find a job."

Another temporary migrant is Elzbieta (60) who is a newspaper editor, and her job remains open for her while she is in the UK. She would also not be happy moving countries on a permanent basis and thereby losing her social status: "I love the job, it is my passion. I have a good position, I have the newspaper, the education, and these would not be accepted in another country, I would lose them."

Although some of these older migrants may be employed in jobs beneath their abilities and skills, this is mainly because they are entering the workforce of a country with a different language and culture. It takes courage to embark on such a journey, even though there may have been financial pressures acting as push factors. They may take on lowlier jobs initially, whilst still adapting to their new environment, but many still have aspirations to improve their work status. Brygida confesses: "I would love to change my job, to have an opportunity." Wieslaw (55) also wishes to do better: "I will definitely try to find a suitable job which is better suited to my qualifications". Despite the challenges of working again in a nursing job, Irena (47) is also not prepared to accept second-best: "It isn't my work here, voluntary care assistant, I have high ambitions. My dream is to get a nursing job".

Marek (49), however, is happy to work in a job beneath his level of qualification: he understands that the level of English creates a barrier to people taking up jobs related to their qualifications. He says: "I understand that if any country lets people from other countries come and find a job, they will not be government or management, they are not looking for directors or managers or chairmen for big companies: they want workers."

There has been no record of migrants working on a self-employed basis but anecdotal evidence suggests that this is greater than anticipated and further study on this might help to change negative public perception. Feliks (47) had worked as a self-employed mechanic running his own small business for about twelve years in Poland and now works in the UK on a self-employed basis in a factory environment. Mateusz (45) is in the process of opening up his own small business in Leicester and will also be self-employed. Migrants such as Gabriela (52) may have the experience of self-employment but they have not always taken this route in the UK. In Poland Gabriela had opened up her own little shop, which was initially quite successful:

About the year 2000 everything started to become bad because of the supermarkets, they were becoming very popular and people started buying stuff there and I could not survive. Everything went wrong from then and I gave up. I came to England and started in London doing cleaning.

It does, however, show that older migrants like Gabriela are prepared to take any work available in the short term, in order to adapt to new circumstances. This also provides evidence of the potential there still is within these older migrants to produce these entrepreneurial skills within the host country in the future.

3.6 Migrant Lifestyle in the UK

Having considered the economic aspects of moving countries, this section will consider the other aspects linked to migration. Once in the UK, the initial decision to migrate is often reconstructed: the push factor linked to avoiding a negatively perceived future means that the imagined new way of life should be more meaningful (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Lifestyle is a significant factor in determining satisfaction levels and can indicate the likelihood of permanent migration. Beata (51) likes the "positive attitude to life, quietness, peace. The country's in order. Despite the fact most people work from morning to evening, they have a target, an aim, and they can do it. They respect holidays, they know how to make the best of things. People are more optimistic despite working hard."

Although economic opportunity may be a primary reason for migration, it can be closely matched by lifestyle opportunities. Many people migrate to attain a dream of a lifestyle they are unable to achieve in their own country (Segal et al, 2010). Hanne (61) reflects on her experience:

I like this country very much. It's quiet, clean and a really nice place here so I am happy. It is much better organised here. Even if they don't know each other, people here are nice and polite to each other. In Poland people are not open. I am really happy here.

Lifestyle migration is, according to O'Reilly & Benson (2009), all about escape from somewhere or something to self-fulfilment and a new life, although the focus of their study is on wealthy retirement. However, there are indications that some of this may also apply to the older Polish migrants as well. They are escaping from a Poland which cannot provide work for them, and which has become a different country from

the one they once knew. Their hopes are that this new life will be more fulfilling for them in providing what was missing in their Polish life.

There have to be comparisons between what they have left behind and the new life, in order to justify the reason for leaving the home country. Hanne is focusing on two main areas of environment and attitudes, but it seems that she is making comparisons on a lifestyle chosen for her, rather than one she wanted for herself. Hanne feels her environment in Britain is quiet and clean, but if she had gone to another part of the UK, this may not have been the case. Even had she moved from one part of Poland to another, she would have found differences and been able to make similar comparisons. Hanne does not integrate with English people because of her lack of language skills, so the observation she is making on politeness is made on the basis of watching interactions at a reception level, or social conversations. This can certainly vary within parts of the UK, and depends on whether the environment is a city where there is anonymity, or a small village where people are known to each other. The same would apply in Poland, and therefore it is more difficult to validate these reflections. There is no doubt that Hanne is happy with her current lifestyle in Britain, but there is no indication that migration is having an impact on her lifestyle aspirations. This is in contrast to Krystyna, who confides: "It was difficult for us living in a city in Poland because we really like living in a village and having a garden and a small house and peace and quiet. Now we have it here. That would be impossible in Poland."

Knowles & Harper (2009) define lifestyle migration as a way of describing environmental preferences and this is very clearly the choice Krystyna has made. This migration decision has been made on the basis of the quality of life she is now enjoying, and shows that for Krystyna the aspiration is being realised. Many families are aspirational, not just for themselves, but for their children, and Kim (2010: 284) puts educational migration very close to lifestyle migration, as the education of children plays a major part of a perceived better lifestyle). Feliks (47) endured a six month separation from his wife, a twenty-five hour drive across Europe, and then lived with his family in one small room for four months to achieve this: "I moved here so my children can have a better life here."

Although Wojciech (46) believes his lifestyle has not changed very much, as he still speaks only Polish at home and watches Polish television, he has been living in the UK for seven years and says he is leading a normal life here now. He finds living in Britain very peaceful and plans on staying: "It is a better place for children, they do have more opportunities here for a good life, so I will stay for them. I came here for a better life."

It would seem that older migrants rate the quality of life in Britain as being better than they could have in their homeland. Much of this is due to their inability to find employment in Poland because of their age, although even the ones in employment found it was poorly paid. As previously discussed, older migrants have been surprised to find that their age is not a barrier to employment in the UK. Additionally they have lived through a long period of transition and recession in Poland, and have not had the opportunity to build up financial resources for their future. With the financial security provided by a more age-tolerant UK, they can benefit from other aspects of a lifestyle which they could not afford in Poland. In the survey carried out with thirty six respondents over the age of forty-five, eighty-six per cent gave a better lifestyle as being the reason for coming here. It is worthwhile comparing this with the thirty one responses from the under forty-fives, where only thirty eight per cent gave this as being their reason for migrating to the UK. The mean age of the respondents was 25 for the younger age group and 54 for the older age group, indicating that older migrants were making the decision to migrate based on the quality of life in the UK. Of the older migrants who stated that they did not come to the UK for a better quality of life, all were female, so it was again a gendered response. However, it may be considered that these women, in their 40s and 50s, came for personal reasons which also improved their quality of life.

The same percentage of older migrants (eighty-six per cent) believed that their children had more opportunities in Britain, but only fifty-one per cent of the under forty-fives agreed. This may be slightly distorted by the fact that perhaps many of the younger migrants do not have children yet, and have not thought about the future to that extent. Beata (51) has her own views on why some are choosing to migrate:

Yes, people are leaving. Not always because they do not have a job, more for this kind of life you can get here. The country is more organised, that's why they come here...Will they come back? One third who came to the UK will

probably come back to Poland. The information you find in the newspapers, Polish people going back. Here they have a job, can rent a house, start a family life, save some money as well, even if everything is pretty expensive. In Poland people cannot afford to rent a house, the price is equal to their salary, it's impossible.

Lifestyle is a considered choice for migration. It means that people have investigated the situation, that they have explored their options, that they have researched the possibilities. Whilst White (2011) stresses the livelihood strategies of the Polish migrants she studied, it appears that older migrants place more emphasis on choosing the UK because it offers a better quality of life for them and their children. Although the initial motivation may be an economic one, the older migrants take longer to consider their options and their decision includes opportunities for their children in the future. As Marek (49) explains:

In Poland...it is not what you can do but who you know and who knows you. A lot of very good workers can't find jobs because they don't have uncles in positions to help them get a job. I tried a couple of times and we spoke, I spoke to my wife, we spoke to each other and we found that everything was going to affect us and affect our son and his situation as a young man, a young person after he finishes his education. All these problems will affect him. We haven't got any connections, I don't know any directors among our friends so we can't help him. All we can do for him is give him a better future.

White (2011: 230-1) suggests that a livelihood strategy takes a holistic view of family financial resources and makes migration decisions based on what is best for the whole family unit. This theory can also be used to show how migrants shape their lives in the host country, replicating where possible their lives in the homeland. However, it seems that the older migrants are not basing their decisions on livelihood strategies, rather on lifestyle choices. Throughout the interviews with these older migrants, there was a clear message that their children's future was their top priority. They stressed that they moved to the UK so their children would have a better life.

Additionally, their children seem happy with a future outside Poland. Krystyna (49) says: "Our son doesn't think about going back to Poland, no, no, no. He wants to stay in England or any other country in the world, but not Poland". Krystyna (49) and her husband migrated to England because they lost their jobs and could not find alternative work in Poland due to their age. Five years later the impetus for this new life, where they both now have jobs, has been reconstructed. "It was difficult for us living in Poland because we really like living in a village and having a garden and a

small house and peace and quiet. Now we have it here. In England I can have my hobbies and develop everything I want to do.”

Daily life after migration is presented as a journey (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), and for the Polish migrants this means having a different perspective on aspects of living in the UK. Various studies (Kozłowska, 2010; Nowicka, 2011; Garapich, 2006) have pointed to the difficulties Polish migrants from a homogenous nation state have had in confronting the multiculturalism and non-white citizens of Britain. Yet Zygmunt (59) muses that: “I have become more open to different nationalities, ethnic groups, different cultures. Here in Leicester I feel like I am in a miniature of the whole world as there are so many nationalities.” Wiesław also makes reference to the mix of people around him in Leicester. This should be contextualised with reference to newspaper reports in 2007 which recount the intolerant attitude many Poles had when moving from all-white towns and villages to be confronted with different nationalities. However, he says: “I like this multicultural society.” Jakub (45) also reflects on the multicultural environment in which he now lives. “I have met many new people here, Polish, English, Slovaks, all different nationalities.” Mihulka (2008) suggests that the Polish media is responsible for much of the misinformation and generalisations about ethnic minorities in Poland, and that Polish people would be much more tolerant of other nationalities and cultures if they had a better understanding.

It is a time for contrasting the present with the past in an attempt to make sense of the move, to give meaning to the migration. There is a need to evaluate and defend the decision. The differences in attitudes are assessed and found in favour of the country of settlement. Justyna (47) makes comment on values. “Here there is politeness in the shops. I am surprised by how close people live to each other but do not intrude on each other.”

Values and attitudes are unlikely to change as a person grows older: people are defined by their life experiences and Shepard (2010: 484) suggests that it is events which occur when people are entering adulthood which affect their lifelong attitudes and values. For Justyna these early years were a time when she was living in a student house. She would have then appreciated the opportunity to have some space to herself, and indeed must have felt the pressure of communal student life.

As soon as they earned enough money, Justyna and her husband moved to a house with a garden, and were prepared to pay the price for that. She does not forget the lack of privacy afforded by living in close proximity to others. This may also explain Brygida's comment when asked about her aspirations: "You will laugh. My dream was always to go to a place in the middle of the sea with no people around, so I could be alone."

There is still a sense of adventure in moving countries (Howard, 2011; Burrell, 2006: 34), and this is not limited to the young. Tomasz (46) gives voice to this: "The UK is the most exotic country for me for the way of thinking. It is the most different – customs, tradition, culture." Parker (2007) suggests that "migration is tied to the human spirit, which seeks adventure, pursues dreams and ...moves towards opportunities for life". Although the concept of adventure is commonly applied to Westerners and those with financial capital, Bakewell and Jonsson (2011) argue that it can equally be applied to economic migrants, who are also seeking to expand their horizons and explore the world.

For many, the perceptions of living in the UK are translated into physical comparisons. Michal (48) identifies with the landscapes he left behind. He realises that not everything can be the same but he is also ready to qualify that with the improvement in his living conditions. "There are loads of parks. I like that. It's a shame though that fishing is forbidden. Housing in the UK is great." Housing features highly in the minds of these older migrants. They feel comfortable with their homes. OECD (2003:169) finds that the main obstacle to immigrants into Finland was insufficient accommodation and this was the reason for them returning to their homelands. Trevena's (2009) study finds that Poles usually live in privately rented accommodation, which is overcrowded and characterised by poor physical conditions. She suggests that, although the Poles do not see this as a cause for concern, this is because they have low expectations. Spencer et al (2007) also report that there are high rates of satisfaction with accommodation and argue that this may be because it is seen as temporary. It is therefore significant that the availability and essentially the quality of the housing of these older migrants is noted. There is no indication that they are overcrowded and indeed most seem to have rented privately in quiet locations. Magda (51) says:

I now have a flat and a job and I enjoy just staying at home and watching television, that is Polish television. I work in school as a cleaner and I would say it's been a little bit difficult finding work. I go to the Polish church. The housing is very good.

Media coverage (*Daily Mail*, 2012; *Daily Express*, 2013), influencing public perception, implies that migrants take the social housing which should be allocated to native born residents. Pemberton (2009: 1363-1384) argues that migrants are in fact positively impacting by increasing demand for private rented and owner-occupied housing. The UK has twenty per cent of its national housing stock in the social rented sector compared to just five per cent in Canada but forty per cent in the Netherlands, but the UK also has a very comprehensive Housing Benefit (Huchanski, 1997). Although there have been limitations placed upon Accession migrants, they are entitled to claim it after one year, and it seems that the confusion may be between social housing and the availability of Housing Benefit to help towards the costs of private rented properties (Social Policy Section, 2012a, 2012b). Most Accession migrants do not live in social housing as it is still allocated on a points system and they do not meet the criteria: between 2004 and 2006 Accession state migrants made up 0.6% of new local tenants and more than fifteen per cent of homeless people in a survey in 2006 were from Eastern Europe (O'Neill, 2007).

Gabriela (52) and her family used agencies to find them accommodation:

My daughter rented a house in London through an agency. A friend who lived with us in the same place used to work in Bedford and when his job in London finished, he found work in Bedford but the commute was too far and he got fed up, so we all moved to Bedford.

Glossop et al's (2009) study also shows that the majority of recent migrants to Hull, seventy five per cent of whom are Polish, have been attracted there because of low cost housing which is predominantly private rented accommodation. Huchanski (1997) details a systematic approach common to all migrants: first they seek a place to live, and then they participate in education and training. Subsequently they then look for a job and they can then improve their level of income and prospects. It shows how important it is for migrants to find housing as it is the basis for their involvement in the community. For the older migrants with families housing is also an important consideration, with their involvement more related to the educational

needs of their children. As Brygida explains: “We found a house and then my daughter came after one month and we went together with my daughter to school”.

With the older migrants initial accommodation needs are often arranged by networks, such as families, friends, or agencies and then they find jobs immediately, with some organised before arrival. It is not long before the older age group make their own arrangements for housing and move into more suitable accommodation. However, they are usually not reaching eligibility levels for access to social housing and it is again a perception that has not been fully refuted in favour of the migrants themselves. Not one of the interviewees in this study was living in social housing. All were in private rented accommodation.

The EHRC policy report (Sumption et al, 2009) finds that accommodation used by Polish migrants is overcrowded, with high rents and poor conditions. In addition large numbers are in housing provided by the employer so that, if they lose their job, they also lose their housing. However, this may only be a temporary situation: Brygida (aged 42) described how she, her husband, and their fifteen year old son all lived together in one room in Milton Keynes for four months, until they could save enough money to rent a house. She said it was her husband’s decision to come and join her in the UK and bring their son with him, as they had been apart for six months, but they then needed time to look for suitable housing and to build up enough money for a rent deposit. Her husband made his decision based on his wife’s earnings not being enough to cover a flat in Poland as well as accommodation in the UK as they were not able to put any savings aside.

A report for the Rowntree Foundation (Robinson et al, 2007) found that migrant workers tended to target neighbourhoods with a large private rented sector, and their finances usually limited their choice to high density housing. Many then developed a liking for that neighbourhood and wanted to stay there, although others chose to rent private housing in better neighbourhoods once they felt more settled in the UK. The report also noted that Polish migrants tended to move accommodation relatively frequently, with informal word-of-mouth communications as to availability of rental housing.

When Brygida arrived in the UK, her friend helped her find a room to rent in a house the same day and she saved enough money for a deposit to move into a rented

house, although it took ten months to do so. Henryka (68) had no help in finding accommodation and it was difficult for her but, even although Adam (47) did have help, he still found it hard. That initial difficulty with accommodation has not impacted on the satisfaction they now have and their feeling that they have settled well. Andrjev also admitted that he had no problem in finding somewhere to live but, as he says: "I had difficulties adapting to a new place."

In contrast to Storch's (2009: 166) study of Polish migrants in Ireland, who found it rather more challenging to locate accommodation, housing in itself seems not to be an issue for the older Polish migrants; it is adaptation. Phillimore (2010) finds that neighbourhoods are important as they are places where people construct relationships, and where migrants do not feel any connection, they are likely to move on. This adaptive ability may be attributed to personality, according to O'Brien (2011: 57), who finds in his study of Polish migrants in London that those who are more flexible, open, empathetic, independent and optimistic are more able to adapt to a new environment. O'Brien (2011: 70) also finds that having a sense of belonging to a place contributes to psychological well-being and facilitates adaptation.

It is inevitable that the migration experience will not always live up to expectations. Ewa (50) says: "The house here is better than in Poland but it is not as good as I expected. I watch television and use my computer." Spitzer (2011: 246) indicates that when life does not live up to expectations, it can result in disappointment, anger and stress. This in turn can have health implications. Ewa has been living in the UK for five and a half years, but there is a suggestion that she is suffering from mental health issues. In her own words, when she arrived: "I did not know many people and I still do not know many people." She is not working and spends her time on the internet in contact with friends in Poland. Her reason for coming to this country was because she thought she would have a better life, that she would find a good job, but she admits she has not settled well. In addition, she feels trapped in her current situation as she has nothing to go back to in Poland.

This is not the experience of Andrzej (55), who seems to have found contentment and says:

Here I have both a job and a place to live, and I had no problem finding them. I live in my house as I like, tranquil and peaceful. I would like to have more

time as I am always busy here but I would like to have more time for my real passion which is painting. I love peace and tranquillity; that is the way I want to live. I like going down to the river and walking around there. I really enjoy peace and quiet and that is what I like about this country, it is more peaceful.

He was another one who did not have a job, and had little hope of finding one in Poland because of his age. He admits he found it hard at first to adapt to life here, but he has been in the country for one year now, and has a very positive outlook. Meeting people has helped: "I have met loads of wonderful people here, both Polish and English."

Wojciech (46) also refers to the people he has met.

I have met lots of people, too many. I work with English people, I take any job that's paid, and meet lots of different people. I have English friends and I go to English classes. I speak only Polish at home and prefer to watch Polish television so I do not feel there are any big lifestyle changes in my life. It is very peaceful living here. In my free time I drink too much beer.

This interaction with others appears to be fundamental to the level of satisfaction these older migrants have with their new life. Michalina (56) decided to migrate to Scotland as it was cheaper than living in London. She was also determined to get an education, something which she had missed in her younger life. Although she had been successful in a fashion career in her youth, it was her age that made her realise the importance of education and qualifications. She feels there are openings for her in the future in the UK. Age figures prominently in Michalina's thoughts, however, and she believes that she has not made friends in Scotland because her age is against her. "At the university they're all young people, I think basically I scare them...you know maybe being this age, being a student, Polish, you know I can see they have a lot of troubles dealing with me." The experience of living in the UK has not been easy for Michalina: "these three years ...living in rented accommodation, sharing a house, this is horrifying...unbelievable, absolutely unbelievable. I mean it gave me such an insight into human life, you know, the way humans are, things I never realised before."

There is an assumption that making friends and adapting to a new way of life will enhance the migration experience but Benson & O'Reilly (2009) indicate that migrants do not always want to become part of a local community. Sofia (62) makes no attempt to integrate and is quite content leading a life which in many ways is on

the fringes of the society in which she is now living. "I like being at home in the UK and watching television, or perhaps just going to visit my friends. We have a pretty apartment which we rent from an English guy. The housing is very good. I have met lots of friends here, all Polish."

Those who are happy with their lifestyle are prepared to take a positive stance towards all aspects of life in the UK. Gabriela (52) trained as a nurse in Poland but never practised as she got married and had to stay at home with children. She later went on to run her own business. When she came to England to look after her grandson, she took on a job as a cleaner. She describes her own experiences.

Life is easy in England. The value of the pound, you can get a job at any age, it is easier to function, there is better medical care. I think the basic is probably worse than in Poland but here the specialist care is better, because I had to have specialist surgery on my eye and in Poland I would have to wait ages, but here it was just six months and I am very pleased with that.

Perceptions about living in the UK are based on the personal experiences of individuals. It is about contrasting and comparing with what they already know. Attitudes and values are significant features. Making sense of one's surroundings is carried out through a process of selecting, organising and interpreting information, which is affected by values and attitudes (Daft & Lane, 2007: 111). Consequently, perceptions will differ and the importance of those perceptions is directly related to individual differences in life experiences. It is to be expected that the perceptions of older migrants will differ from those of the younger age group, particularly in terms of quality of life. Younger migrants are more likely to accommodate lower levels of living standards as a means to an end, but older migrants have expectations of a more timely improvement in their lifestyle. It seems that most have found that those expectations of a better lifestyle have been met, given the overall level of happiness with their life in the UK.

3.7 Social Networks

According to Vertovec (2002) social networks are crucial for the migration process and they guide migrants to specific places and occupations. Social networks can change rapidly according to needs and location and also in their use (Ryan et al, 2009b) but they all offer support in some form, whether emotional or informational or practical. Some migrants arrange jobs and accommodation before travelling to the

UK, but these are usually those with a higher level of education or skills, although it has been seen that many of the older migrants have also made such prior arrangements. Nevertheless, many migrants arrive without any contacts and are dependent on the help and support of fellow migrants whom they meet upon arrival. Often the information received is inaccurate (Ryan et al, 2007) and those with good language skills and professional occupations are less reliant on Polish networks; therefore they have wider access to better support.

However, the importance of networks should not be underestimated as it is estimated that fifty per cent of all jobs are obtained informally through social networks and that language barriers make this mechanism far more likely to be used by migrants. Many Poles are unaware that the UK system of a more formal recruitment process is the one to be used for higher level jobs, and they find themselves inadvertently in the low-paid jobs offered by the low-skilled employers using social networks for informal recruitment (Sumption, 2009). In addition they are subject to barriers of not having their qualifications recognised by employers and of not understanding the local labour market: while networks may enhance economic integration, they do not support social integration (Sumption, 2009) and this could impact on both job opportunities and life satisfaction in the future.

The older migrants tend to utilise social networks back in the homeland. Ryan et al (2007) point out that emotional support comes from the home country, with many migrants phoning Poland every day to speak to family, and mothers prepared to come to the UK to help and support their daughters with their children. Beata (51) has made four visits in two years to help her daughter with her grandchildren, and one of these visits lasted five months. Hanne (61) has made three visits and has helped out by looking after her new grandson while her daughter returns to work and negotiates childcare solutions. The older migrants are very good at giving support both to their children and, as discussed in the next chapter, to their parents. It is not entirely evident that they are receiving the same level of emotional support that they are giving. As Irena (47) says: "I invite my friends but nobody decided to come....I am very depressed....I am here under obligation.... I don't think he (my husband) understands me..."

Many of the others interviewed were reluctant to discuss their feelings at such a level as Irena, although Gabriela (52) made a conscious decision to migrate to be with her daughter:

There is nobody who can help me at the moment in Poland because my daughter is here. There is nobody who would take care of me if I had a serious injury. I had a second lot of surgery and my daughter was there, in the same house, my support was from my daughter.

Some migrants talk of keeping in touch with friends in Poland, although there is nothing to indicate that this provides the emotional support which is more likely to come from family. Marek (49) says he has never considered going back to Poland, although he would like to have more contact with his friends there, but: “with or without friends we have to live for ourselves.”

A study by Polek et al (2008) shows that successful socio-cultural adaptation depends on the acquisition of the host country language and consequently being able to increase contacts within the host society. The workplace is seen as the main resource of social networks. Yet as has been seen in Sumption et al's (2009) report, almost a quarter of Polish migrants have no contact with anyone outside their own compatriots. Casmir (50) works as a builder and states: “I have not made any English friends as I work with Polish people”. Krystyna (49) says:

I have one colleague, an English colleague from work, but we only meet in work, not out, not after work. My husband has one friend, an English man, but he is with a Polish woman and is learning Polish and we don't speak much. We don't have the chance to meet English people after work.

Yet some of the older migrants have formed a social network of English contacts. Teresa (50) works with English people and socialises with them when playing sport. Wojciech (46) and Agata (45) both work with English people and say they have English friends. Those who have had some experience of working with English co-workers, like Irena (47) in her voluntary care assistant job, also have more confidence in speaking to neighbours and forming friendships with them.

It may therefore be more damaging to the long-term prospects of Poles to have businesses try and solve the communication problem by employing a Polish-speaking manager to liaise between British management and Polish workers. It is

these communication problems which are also contributing to the migrants' seclusion (Richter and Pfliegerl, 2001).

For many Poles the Catholic Church is one of their main social networks; again this is within a Polish circle and therefore they are not benefiting from networking with English people. With other ethnic groups there has been a similar pattern: the Bengalis going to the mosque and the Punjabis to their temple. Phillipson et al (2000) show that this becomes a more important network as migrants become older but it is the men who may go to the mosque five or six times a day or to the temple daily, whereas the women lead much more secluded lives and do not leave the home apart from going to the local shop. Communication is seen as essential for the long-term life satisfaction levels of migrants (Bloemen, 2012); it is the very social networks which migrants have come to depend upon that may be viewed as detrimental to social integration as communication with local communities is not taking place. They encourage migrants to look inwards instead of outwards, to keep within their own ethnic communities. This could lead to isolation, especially in later life. Fifty per cent of the older migrants said they regularly attended the Polish church, as opposed to just forty per cent of the younger migrants and this is in line with Phillipson et al's (2000) findings which show that a religious network grows in importance as people grow older. However, this study found no delineation between male and female churchgoers as the older Polish migrants attend as a family unit, and this is normally on a monthly rather than a daily basis.

Although Feliks (47) never attended church in Poland, he does so regularly here as it gives him the chance to meet people. Truong & Gaspar (2011: 260) argue that people can gain security through bonding, and that an example of this is through religious grouping. The Polish church is often a focal point for many, and even those who never attended church in their own country find a familiarity and security in being welcomed and enclosed within a Polish church community. Zachariasz (45) is not happy living in the UK but he loved fishing in Poland and finds it hard not being able to do so in England. Deprived of his interest, he seeks security in his own home and in the Polish church. White (2011: 184) describes how the Polish church in Bristol has been active in helping new migrants, and Zachariasz has found the same in Leicester. "I watch Polish television. I do go to the Polish church, the people there are friendly and help me." Szymon (62) does not feel his lifestyle has changed at all,

apart from having to take up English lessons but every week he too goes to the Polish church. There he feels he is in a familiar environment. Zygmunt (59) has made many Polish friends in the Polish church.

Someone was kind to take me to the Polish church for the first time and I met lots of fantastic people there who stopped to talk to me which was very important to me, so now I do the same for other new people – to be positive and friendly.

In their study of Central and East Europeans in the UK, Spencer et al (2007) find that older men are more likely to attend a place of worship. However, this study found that, even though they may attend church less regularly, it was more likely that the older migrants would go with their family. It is possible that previous studies had identified attendees like Zygmunt and Zachariasz, who came without partners to the UK, and who welcomed the familiar and friendly support of the church. At the time of Spencer et al's (2007) study, many wives had not yet joined their husbands in the UK.

As this research shows, with the older migrants there has not been such a dependence on social networks as they tend to try and dissociate themselves from their fellow countrymen in the UK. For a substantial number the Polish church is an important link, but half of those interviewed did not attend church nor suggest that it could be a networking opportunity. When they have families, they focus on family life and their concession to networking is more digital as they watch Polish television at home, use the internet, and keep in touch with family and friends through email and mobile phones. The social network most relevant to older migrants is their relationship with family both in the UK and back in Poland. This indicates the strength of family relationships as people grow older and this will be discussed further in the next chapter.

3.8 Settling In

The quality of life in the UK for the older migrants is influenced by the extent to which their needs are being met. Maslow's (1943) Hierarchy of Needs shows that biological and physiological needs must be met before any others, closely followed by safety, which includes housing and employment. If these basic requirements can be met, then migrants will feel that they have been successful. Perceived success has been shown to increase the sense of satisfaction that migrants have with their decision to

migrate, and this success is linked to expectations (Mudege & Zulu, 2011). Older people have more realistic expectations and are therefore more likely to be satisfied (Mudege & Zulu, 2011).

This is not always so; Irena (47) goes to church every week, meeting mostly Polish people. She does attend meetings at the school to discuss her son's progress with the teachers and she speaks to her neighbours, albeit "I speak short answers, short questions." She was upset when interviews to get a nursing position resulted in her being told her language skills were not good enough and that she must improve her English, and she worked as a voluntary nursing care assistant for six or seven months in an effort to do so. This has made her very depressed with her situation, that she has not been able to use her nursing education, training and skills. Previously she had been a sister in a hospital and had taken on the ensuing responsibilities, but now she feels all her experience has been wasted. Irena's position is slightly different from some of the others as she was in a good job in Poland and came to the UK to be with her husband, who was unemployed. It is more difficult for those who did not themselves migrate for economic purposes, as they have had more to lose. As Irena says: "When a person is uneducated, they will do anything here because it's work, but I feel wrong here. I lost something from my life."

Women seem to be more reluctant to give up their positions than men, which may be because it was more difficult for them to achieve those positions originally and, consequently, they feel they have more to lose. Justyna (47) describes how she managed to get her university place:

My family was in opposition to the Party so I couldn't do anything. Nobody, grandparents, parents, were part of the Party, never. At this time a lot of children from the Heads of the Party had extra points to get into university. I had to do better. I saw it as an opportunity to do something, to go somewhere.

A paper presented by Al-Dajani (2008) at the Prowess Annual Conference in Peterborough in 2008 highlights the trend of increasing self-employment involving migrant women, and that Eastern European women are likely to be more entrepreneurial than the men. Self-employment increases their chances of stability and reduces poverty and is also an indicator that English language proficiency may not be the barrier to success in this country. It may be that many of these potentially

entrepreneurial women migrants do not yet have the confidence to become self-employed. However, there may be signs of this. Krystyna (49) says:

In England I can have my hobbies and develop everything I want to do. I can make my cards for example. Now I can do things for myself. My little business, more of a hobby. At Christmas time, for Polish people, it's a tradition in Poland to send Christmas cards to family and friends, similar in England, and this time it will be good because people want them. This is more work for me at home.

In terms of Polish employment, women have taken on many of the vacancies in the care sector, often recruited through agencies. There has been a certain amount of exploitation of these women, many of whom are required to work long and unsocial hours for low pay. In other work facilitated by agencies targeting Polish workers, additional deductions are taken from wages on the pretext of complying with UK law (House of Commons, 2009: 96). McDowell et al (2008: 340) explain that young Polish women working through agencies in hotels described their work as demeaning, demanding and unpleasant, although they were prepared to take on such casual work until something better came along. For some of the older migrants, however, opportunities are seen in the employment available to them. Julia (45) explains that it is improving her relationship with her new partner: "Now I am starting to feel more comfortable. My man and I both work together in a chocolate factory. He's packing them and I am packing them." For others, the opportunities available to them add meaning to their lives. Gabriela (52) comments: "Life is easy in England. You can get a job at any age, it is easier to function."

Older people find it harder to integrate, they do not have the social confidence of the young, nor do they have the same opportunities for networking. One of the main issues when carrying out this study was the lack of networking between older and younger Polish migrants. Whereas there were many portals for connecting with young Poles, these were virtually non-existent for the older generation, and younger Poles did not have social contact with older Polish migrants. There was little interaction between younger and older migrants and there was a wide generational gap which had not been evident in earlier migration flows. Older migrants did not seek out specific locations where they might feel at home with their ethnicity, and where their specific needs might be met in communities where there were Polish shops, Polish churches and Polish speaking neighbours. On the contrary, they

seemed to be happy with accommodation in predominantly English areas and had a much more realistic attitude towards integration than was anticipated. However, they did make use of networks upon arrival in the host country, with eighty per cent stating that they had help from family, friends or other Polish people to find jobs and accommodation.

3.9 Daily Routine

These older migrants still have to make decisions once they are in the host country, and their experiences of daily life are going to have an impact on the next stage of their life course trajectory. Zygmunt (59) has considered his options and he has a plan. At the moment he cannot afford to buy his own house, but he intends working until retirement at sixty-five so that he can combine both UK and Polish pensions when he retires. He just hopes he is healthy enough to work until that time, but then he wants to go back and live in Poland. This is not dissimilar to plans made by many other individuals, who work abroad and then return to their own country to retire. Davies & James (2011: 68) acknowledge that some migrants move back to their home country upon retirement as they want to be near families and friends as they grow old. However, Ganga's (2006) study of older Italians living in Nottingham finds that increasingly they are not returning; they may have had the intention of doing so, but social, family and economic relationships are formed and they find it too difficult to relinquish these.

There is no doubt that many migrants are gaining from their experiences, picking up new skills and new knowledge. Leuner (2006:176) quotes a statement from a Polish migrant to Australia, who recognises that the young have psychological strength which enables them to adapt more easily and accept the differences, but for older people other aspects of life become of great importance. Instead of turning these into a negative experience, some older migrants are looking at the positive aspects of their achievements in adapting to a new way of life. Jakub (45) is proud of the fact that he can now answer the telephone in English. This may not seem to be a big achievement but it is a big step as it takes courage to answer a telephone in a foreign language; telephone contact does not allow clues to be picked up through body language, and it requires skills plus confidence to carry out this task.

When he arrived three months ago, Wieslaw (55) had no problem finding a place to stay and within three weeks found a job working night shifts in a factory. He acknowledges that this has been a shock to his system and intends looking for something else, but regards it as a starting point for him. The financial rewards make it worthwhile for him as he was in low paid work in Poland. Julia (45) is very happy with her life in England. She came to the UK to be with her new partner.

We have a bigger house and it's working out well. I was sitting there in my armchair just reading, all alone in Poland. I am happier now. I used to live my children's lives, but now I have a life of my own. We might go to Cornwall this year, to see the UK. You have to know where you live.

Being older does not mean that new skills cannot be gained. Henryka (68) is on a pension and she decided to come to the UK only one year ago. She spoke no English when she arrived, yet has already managed to find herself housing without any help. Although she admits her English is very weak, she has learnt some language and she still prefers living in England. "I read books, newspapers, go for walks. I have a library card. There are fantastic parks here, fresh air, and I feel very good here."

Kosic (2006:116) suggests that for young migrants a re-interpretation of their situation is used to preserve their self-esteem; they prefer to present themselves as gaining rich and cultural experiences which help in defining them. Although Ward et al (2001) argue that older people have fewer psychological resources to cope with transition to a new culture and cite Padilla's (1986) study indicating that older migrants have lower levels of self-esteem, there has not been evidence to support this. It appears that older Polish migrants have a more pragmatic approach, and are more accepting of their situation, looking at the benefits to their lifestyle. They are not looking for personal development, rather for contentment with what they have gained from moving countries.

Leisure activities tend to be simple. Few participate in organised activities. In his free time Zygmunt (59) is learning English and he finds this is a way of relaxing. He also enjoys other very ordinary everyday activities. "I like watching English television, going to the park, going to a pub or cafe, talking to people." Many are not involved in outside activities at all, preferring to stay at home and enjoy Polish television. This is usually linked to a comment on housing, as that is where they are spending most of

their time. Home is familiar and means security, so they feel they can relax. Piotr (50) says that in his free time: "I watch television. The housing is very good." This combination of housing with relaxation activities shows that they feel comfortable with their ordinary lives. Casmir (50) likes watching television, and is quite content with his lifestyle. He does not feel any need to take up any new leisure activities, and this relates to the way he lived in Poland, where he never went anywhere outside his own village. "I watch Polish television at home which is my main interest outside work. I work as a builder and it's been very easy finding work." On a daily basis many do not have much time for leisure. Krystyna (49) describes how shift work can disrupt possible activities.

We used to go to the swimming pool but now we don't have a pool near our home. We often go walking, but we don't go to the club. When I have the second shift, the afternoon shift, then it is the same time as classes are in the club.

Wikter (55) works long hours as a manual labourer but he has no complaints about that as it is easy to find such work and it pays very well. In describing his leisure activities, he expresses simple everyday activities. "I enjoy beer, cigarettes, friends, shopping and cooking. I work too hard to join anything here. The housing is very good." The inclusion of housing when asked about leisure activities again shows the importance of this in their lives. Its significance is in the security it offers them. Some do make the time and inclination to get involved, and find that they then identify opportunities of integrating with English people. Teresa (50) loved sport in Poland and continues to be involved in sport in the UK. She meets up with English people outside work through playing sport. Mateusz (45) had lots of interests in Poland such as cycling, water sports, canoeing and car racing but has not yet found those in the UK, though he hopes to do so. He is in the process of setting up his own business and he has been meeting lots of English people.

There is always time for holidays and many do go back to Poland to visit family and friends. However, a number are taking advantage of travelling around the UK and getting familiar with this new country. Krystyna (49) is more adventurous. "We are planning a holiday camping in France for two weeks. But last holiday we stayed in England because my husband was a little bit ill. But now I think we have little holidays all over Europe, in England long weekends." Feliks (47) is self-employed

and working in a factory. He too enjoys having the opportunity to travel around England at weekends. He says: "I feel much better here, a more peaceful life, quiet, organised." He has time to himself and time to do other things he wants to do.

These older migrants describe ordinary lives, where personal preferences dictate the level of involvement in leisure activities. This is an aspect of their lives that they can control. They may not always be able to choose where they live or work, but they can make decisions on a daily basis as to what they do with their spare time. This freedom may be expressed by watching television, or by going for a walk, but there is no compulsion to do anything they do not want to do. The ordinariness of these activities should perhaps be viewed in the context of life within the UK, where they may be defined as normalcy. Earl (2004) questions how it is possible to suggest "that normalcy is reasserted in people's lives for whom there was seemingly little normalcy to begin with". Comparisons of normalcy are limited by the sociocultural context in which the experiences occur (Crowe, 2000), but Kennedy (1994: 4) argues that members from post-communist societies "want to be something inconsistent with the system they recently overturned" and that their desire for a successful future can be regarded as a normal aspiration. From their narratives of lived experience in the UK, it is evident that many of these older Polish migrants are content with their newfound normalcy. Krings et al (2009) argue that the longer migrants stay in their new country, the more important their quality of life becomes. Their study was of younger migrants in Ireland, but it could also be argued that quality of life becomes more important with age. It has certainly been a significant factor in the motivation of older migrants to leave their homeland and start a new life in the UK. Brygida (42) is content with her current lifestyle. From a two room flat in Poland, the family is now in a three bedroom house. Her description of everyday life resonates with the similarity to an ordinary English housewife's routine. "I am cooking, cleaning, taking children to school. I work at weekends but sometimes meet with friends."

It is this very ordinariness of daily living which points to the probability of these older Polish migrants settling in this country. As Lopez Rodriguez (2010) argues, when immigration takes on a more permanent form, families create an environment which they feel is normal and meaningful to them. They feel this is their home. They are not trying to create a new homeland in another country. This has long been the theory behind diasporas (Bozic, 2006), where people move from one country to another and

bring their way of life with them. Cohen (1997) and others have defined characteristics of diasporas as having a certain homogeneity, but the older migrants have more in common with international retirement migrants. Despite the flow defying the usual northern Europe to southern Europe pattern, the motivation has similarities: "They seek homes more than homelands, only a minority engage with fellow-nationals in group activities inspired by the homeland, and the majority have a general ambition to integrate in the host society or to freely move between territories"(O'Reilly, 2000).

Although these international retirement migrants are considered to be affluent (Warnes & Williams, 2006), they are also more concerned with quality of life (Giddens, 1991; Murray et al, 2003) and many are thinking ahead to retirement, rather than being at retirement age already. Studies have shown that assumptions based on these more active older migrants returning home in later life have proven to be untrue (Warnes & Williams, 2006). This has been a similar phenomenon with the older Italian migrants in Nottingham. Deianira Ganga (2006b) describes how the socialisation of the children of migrants contributes to settlement; because the migrants themselves had not originally considered their migration would be permanent; they had not made efforts to socialise with the host society. However, their children had integrated and had no desire to return to their parents' homeland. As the migrants become older, they then become concerned that their children will not be there to look after them if they return to their home country and a compromise is sought whereby regular visits back to the homeland help maintain their links to their place of origin (Ganga, 2006a). A study of older migrants in Switzerland also supports an intention and preference to settle in the host country and make visits back to the homeland (Bolzman et al, 2006).

Seganti (2010) argues that new migration within Europe should be regarded as an expansion from a homeland in search of work. She also proposes the idea that migrants are now using social media as a third home and, although her study focuses on younger migrants, there is some evidence to support that older migrants are finding a virtual third home: in their case this is their dependence on Polish television. Burrell (2006: 138) contends that Polonia, the Polish television station, gives migrants a sense of belonging. As Adamson (2005: 56) finds, the availability of

satellite television means migrants: “can remain linked to a virtual identity community that transcends any geographic locale”.

In their leisure time many older migrants choose to watch Polish television, and this should be seen as a factor in their acceptance of the host country, rather than in terms of a barrier to their integration. It is a matter of choice, and being able to choose the way they live their lives means that they are more likely to regard the UK as their permanent settlement.

3.10 Finding an Identity

When a migration decision is made at a more mature age, it creates issues specific to their emotional loyalties. Older people have more lasting attachments to their homeland and are not going to become as fully integrated into a new society as young adults (Treas, 2008a). These attachments make it more difficult for them to adapt to a new country and a changing identity. Ng et al (2009) find that older age at immigration is a significant indicator of ethnic identity and that those who migrate earlier in life are more likely to take on a bicultural identity.

It is now considered that people ageing are much more self-reflective about their identities and lives (Hockey & James, 2003) than in previous times: they feel the need to fulfil their potential within their new lifestyle (Hockey & James, 2003: 107) and this may be having an influence on their feeling of satisfaction with life. The ideal of a change in life brought about through migration may not live up to expectations. Agata agrees that her life has changed but this change is not making her happier than she was before. She admits that some improvements have been made as living in the UK is better than living in Poland, and she plans on staying here, even though she goes back to Poland whenever she can. Agata’s problem is that she cannot find an identity which fits. She is still caught between the two countries, despite having been in the UK for five years, speaking good English and making lots of English friends.

It is recognised that a sense of belonging reinforces identity. Markova (2009) found in her study of Bulgarian migrants in Brighton that there was a real lack of identification with the neighbourhoods in which they were living, and one of the factors was possibly the more deprived neighbourhoods in which they lived. It is suggested that their sense of belonging may increase over time (Markova, 2009:

123), but Agata has already been living in Leicester for five years. While there is considerable space for having more than one national identity, especially within a transnational context (Vertovec, 2010), it seems that in one way Agata is rejecting both her Polish identity and her new British identity. She did not want to leave Poland, she has not settled in Britain, she is not happy, and yet she does not want to return to Poland. Unlike many of the older migrants, Agata has tried to integrate, and she has moved into an English environment, where she speaks English at work and at home. She has consequently constructed a local identity for herself, but it is possible that the complete separation of one identity from the other has been too much, and that she may have been better keeping part of her Polish identity in England. If there had been more integration, and she had found some Polish friends in England, perhaps the transition may have been easier for her and made her happier with her life. Whilst it is laudable from a social and political point of view that she has succeeded so well in integrating into an English society, it has not been so successful on a personal level. At the age of forty when she migrated, Agata was already bound to her Polish identity. This was something which should have been recognised and celebrated.

Zygmunt has retained his Polish identity, although he has been in the UK for eight years. He has settled well in an English environment, even aspiring to buying his own house at the age of fifty nine; he lives with Polish people and has made lots of friends in the Polish church, whom he appreciates as they were there to support him in the early days of his arrival in Leicester. He has also learnt English, watches English television, and is happy to live in a multicultural society. For him there is no question about his sense of where he belongs, and he is very proud of his Polish identity:

I don't know Poland as well as a Polish person should but I think you should get to know your own country mainly as a young person...because when you are older and you are working, there are too many problems. You can't take time off to travel. I do know Poland but not well enough. I haven't been to Krakow, Bieczczady, the Tatry mountains...I know a bit but not all.

He has regrets that he did not take advantage of the time he spent in his homeland, and now he feels it is too late for him to visit the places he has never seen. Rizvanoglu et al (2010) find that homeland idealism is a significant factor in migrant communities, and this is a way of reinforcing a sense of belonging and identity with

the homeland. However, there are certain times in the life course when opportunities are there but neglected, and Zygmunt is aware of these. He travelled to England as a tourist before Accession, as he recognised that there would be an opportunity for him to find work in Britain as soon as Poland joined the EU, and he wanted to be the first to find work here. It was the right time for him to migrate, despite having to leave his wife and two children, his Polish home and surroundings, which he admits was very difficult. Nevertheless, by forming his own community in Leicester, Zygmunt has been able to maintain his ethnic identity (Rizanoglu et al, 2010).

Ethnic identity is reinforced by an awareness of being different from other cultures (Ryan, 2010b) and the nature of migration allows groups to perceive their cultural differences. This is especially relevant to the older age group, who have deeply embedded Polish traditions, and who have not grown up against a backdrop of a more global environment available to the young through music, films, and the internet. Ryan (2010b) suggests that the sense of being Polish is defined through migrants' relationship to Poland and, as previously mentioned, many of the older migrants still had strong attachments to the homeland and were very nostalgic about the country they had left behind.

Leuner's (2010) study of Polish migrants in Melbourne finds that first generation migrants are more likely to identify themselves as completely Polish, whereas the second generation tend to identify themselves as part-Polish and part-Australian. Language skills also play a part in defining identity (Leuner, 2010) and it is likely that those with more developed English language skills are more receptive to cultural diversity and more accepting of dual identities. The older Polish migrants have to contend with the acquisition of another language when they move to the UK, alongside a different culture, and this creates a further barrier to creating a sense of belonging.

The research also reflects the way that current migration trends enable migrants to retain their own identity, and not to feel forced into accepting a new persona. These are European citizens, free to travel, to work, and to live anywhere within the EU. They are not economic refugees, compelled to take on a new citizenship to give them the right to stay in the host country. The narratives imply that they have been readily accepted in the UK, and have felt welcome. With easier and cheaper

transport links and communication networks now available, migrants can keep contact with family and friends in the homeland, whilst living and working in a culturally diverse environment. These transnational connections help migrants stay close to family at home; communication technology compresses time and space (Parrenas, 2001) and frequent visits home are both possible and implemented (Senyurekli et al, 2008) thanks to low cost airlines. As Beata (51) comments, the journey between Poland and the UK takes just two hours, whereas travelling across Poland to visit family can take much longer. Lourenco et al (2012) argue that family ties are one of the foundations of transnationalism and both virtual communication and periodical visits help maintain cultural identity.

3.11 Summary and Conclusion

An early exposure to the contrast between Western material culture and their own colourless lives may have had an influence on later migration decisions made by the older migrants; the enticement of a place where dreams may come true cannot be underestimated. Images of this ideal world full of colour and excitement, in contrast to their own drab and uneventful childhood, would have been embedded in young minds. It was unattainable to them at the time, but somewhere in the world people were living this dream. Those memories of an ideal world may never have been true, but they represented an aspirational lifestyle that was lacking in their own lives. Perhaps it was possible that one day they too would be able to benefit from this promise of a better way of life; it was a childhood dream.

Perceptions of this ideal world can only have been reinforced in the 1980s when many of these participants were young adults. The shortages experienced in the shops and the poor living conditions meant that standards of living dropped. Although people were aware that people in other countries lived a different life, they still had hopes that things were going to get better for them as well. They wanted to believe that they were the ones who could make a difference; they were prepared to make sacrifices so that they could aspire to this ideal world in their own country. Although they had the option of migrating at this stage, they still wanted to stay and help to create a place where they could realise their dreams.

It seems that the greatest challenge to the realisation of these dreams came in the 1990s. Despite the initial excitement of a market economy being introduced, and

people thinking that they were finally creating that ideal world based on Western principles, the reality set in motion the circumstances leading to their eventual migration. These circumstances were a combination of unemployment and debt, fuelled by the transfer of the labour market from state to private ownership. The change from socialist to capitalist society was rapid and harsh and the participants in this study were among those most affected. They had thought they were about to achieve their ideal world, but instead they lost their jobs; the protective environment they knew was no longer there for them. Although they tried to adapt, it progressively became more difficult as they were growing older, and the new privatised companies were looking for younger employees. Their lack of employment also resulted in an accumulation of debt as prices in the new capitalist economy were rising. Migration offered an opportunity to find work and make money.

The expectations of the migratory journey may have been built on the deeply embedded perceptions of the dream world offered by a Western material culture, but they were also influenced by the broken dreams they had experienced in their own country. While many of the participants express satisfaction with their new life, there is also a sense of underlying regret; it is understandable that they may have a feeling of rejection but that could be overcome by finding work and reinforcing the perception of self-worth. It is indeed seen that most of the participants are grateful for the possibilities the UK has given them of fulfilling their potential through work. This regret, however, is an emotional reaction which comes from the realisation that their own country is never going to be that ideal world they have created in their minds. They waited and hoped, but the act of moving countries has meant that it is now the end of that dream.

Their position in the life course has made them re-evaluate their lives; those who are in their forties and have young families are aspirational for their children, whilst those who are older may still be aspirational for their adult children but also for themselves. They can see that they are midway through their lives and they need to secure their future; the only way they can improve their lives is through migration. The lifestyle they have in the UK is better than what they could attain in Poland; they are more prepared to consider the benefits as they have already experienced disappointments. Their age and their life stage make them more pragmatic about their expectations and encourage them to have a more positive approach.

Nevertheless, some of the participants have difficulties in accepting this new migrant identity, indicating that the emotional reaction to leaving their own country is unresolved; in their case, age and life course are creating a barrier to satisfaction with their migration experience. They have more memories to draw upon, but these memories tend to be turning to nostalgia for an ideal world that no longer exists.

Chapter 4 Family Relationships

4.1 Introduction

Migration divides people; families move and are separated. Issues specific to older working-age migrants moving country are not yet fully understood as there are few studies on this age group. These migrants are most likely to be caught between attending to the needs of their children or their elderly parents, both requiring support. In this chapter the ways in which older migrants approach these issues is explored through narrative contextualisation of their life stories. This chapter considers the impact of migration on the family dynamics of these older migrants. It explores the dilemmas they are faced with when they are torn between their responsibilities to their elderly parents and to their children's future.

With families being separated and living in more than one country, the stabilising effect of home becomes more important. The decision as to whether they migrate may depend on whether families can see themselves making a home in the new location (Settles, 2001). Without cost effective or free digital technology these families would not be able to sustain communication channels and relationships would break down. Consequently both the economic and emotional costs to these families and the communities in which they live could be very high.

Indeed it has been found that family-related migration is the predominant mode of entry into classical migration countries such as the United Kingdom (Haour-Knipe, 2008). This can be where the whole family migrates or where other family members come to join those already in the country. Despite being with family, previous studies looking at older migrants have identified patterns of isolation and loneliness: in the Indian community in London it was found that older people had limited contact with their neighbours and many were afraid to go out alone (Phillipson et al, 2000), while Treas (2008) found that boredom and loneliness were big problems for older migrants coming to America. It was therefore anticipated that this study of older Polish migrants would identify similar issues of loneliness and isolation, and it is an area which is explored further within this chapter.

There is an assumption that older migrants are abandoning family members in another country but Warnes et al (2006) dispel this assumption and suggest that

relationships may have changed, but they are still maintained. Although the Polish migrants are dispersed and come to the UK for various reasons, one common theme was the pull between supporting elderly parents in Poland, and supporting children, who could be scattered across more than one country. Such emotional demands can have a considerable impact on families. This chapter explores the dilemmas older migrants are faced with when they are torn between their responsibilities to their elderly parents and to their children's future, or even to their own future.

The main areas being investigated within the chapter are therefore the issues facing transnational families, the responsibilities of parents and grandparents, the impact of separation on family relationships, family orientated motivations for migration, networking and isolation, all within the context of older migrants. Overarching these issues the chapter demonstrates the emotional costs involved in leaving one's homeland, friends and familial contacts.

The participants are in different family situations as some are parents, some are grandparents, and others identify as sons or daughters. Some of those in their forties may regard their priority as being their children, whereas others are focused on their elderly parents. A number have migrated alone, but some may have left families behind in Poland. This may have implications as studies have shown that migrants in various family situations can be subjected to psychosocial issues affecting their wellbeing as well as that of their families (Hettige et al, 2012; Wickramage & Siriwardhana, 2014). Additionally, the dynamics of the family are affected by the migration experience (Stuart et al, 2010), yet many migrant families may have households split between two or more places as the family model takes into account modern family organisation (Fan et al, 2011). The participants in this study may therefore be considered as representative of modern migration in their family situation.

4.2 Responsibilities to parents

As people grow older, they require more stability and even when they settle into a new environment where they may be financially better off, they are still likely to feel guilty as they have not fulfilled their responsibilities (Green & Canny, 2003). This is a concern for older migrants who have often left elderly parents behind in Poland, whilst they try to improve their economic situation to benefit their family. Burrell

(2008: 34) comments that one of the consequences of migration is unease at not being able to care for these elderly parents and this is shown in the way that these older migrants do worry about their relationship with their parents.

These older migrants are faced with difficult decisions when caught between their responsibilities to others. When debating migration, their considerations involve lifestyle choices: Should they take up an economic opportunity and leave their family in Poland?; Will their family join them at an opportune time in the future?; Perhaps they could migrate together as a family?; Are elderly parents going to come with them?; Who will look after the parents if they stay in Poland?; Should they join their children and grandchildren in the UK?.

As McKeon (2014) has shown, age discrimination has been a key factor in motivating many older people to leave their homeland. Krystyna, aged 49, and her husband were both unemployed in Poland and could not find other work because of their age. When the offer of a good job in the UK came up for her husband, it was too good an opportunity to miss. However, even when older people settle into a new environment where they may be better off financially, they are still likely to feel guilty as they have not fulfilled their responsibilities (Green & Canny, 2003). Krystyna apologised for crying in the interview as she told of her guilt at leaving her parents: "My father is 78 and seriously ill. My mum doesn't drive and must walk with my father in a wheelchair. The only people who can help them are old and I am an only child and nobody can take care of them. Only mum can take care of father."

Krystyna worries about her parents as she is an only child and her seventy eight year old father is seriously ill. There is nobody to take care of him apart from her mother. However, she takes consolation from the fact that her parents are no longer living in a country village where there is no transportation, and where her mother had to push her father in a wheelchair to the doctors and shops and it was all too much for her. By coming to the United Kingdom Krystyna and her husband could afford to buy their flat in Warsaw, and subsequently install her parents there, where they had access to facilities. She speaks with her mother every day and is very grateful for the fact that they get sixty minutes free from TalkTalk for each telephone call abroad, but just thinking about her parents makes her cry. She says: "The worst part was leaving parents in Poland."

Her parents told her that they have had their life now, and they are happy that she is having a good life, to think that it will be a better future for her. This does not stop Krystyna from feeling guilty that she has left them on their own, that she is not there to help when needed. She is caught in the middle, torn between her responsibilities to her parents and to her husband and son. It is preying on her mind that she is an only child and that her parents have no other immediate family to support them. Although they accept that she is building a better life for her son in England, she cannot stop thinking about them and this makes it hard for her to relax and enjoy the life she now has.

In migrating Krystyna was able to support her parents in a way that would not have been possible had she remained in Poland, yet the perception of space she has put between herself and her parents is having an impact on her well-being. Even though she is in contact with her mother every day, she feels that her physical presence is lacking, and there is more pressure placed on her being an only child. Krystyna is happy in her new environment, but she is imagining that her parents are feeling alone because she is not there with them. She is placing herself in their position and transferring her own insecurities about the future, about how she would want her immediate family to be around her when she gets older, without giving due consideration to the way her migration has enabled them to lead a more independent life than if she had remained in Poland, where they had financial problems. There is no doubt that Krystyna can go back to visit them in Poland if she wanted, as recently they did go there on holiday. However, the family visit meant they were not able to relax properly and did not feel they had had a proper holiday. Meeting family and friends meant they had no time to themselves so she and her husband made a decision not to return to Poland this year for their main holiday, but instead to go on a camping holiday to France. This decision to put her own family first has pulled her in two directions and impacted the feeling of guilt at leaving her parents. Nevertheless, Krystyna has still managed to make one or two visits to Poland every year and has been able to maintain a close relationship with her mother and father.

Being pulled between the needs of different members of the family is particularly difficult for women, who tend to have a more emotional response to family conflict. Much has been written about this in terms of emotional exhaustion related to family-work conflict (Posig & Kickul, 2004; Livingston & Jones, 2008), but there have also

been studies of the emotional implications of migration. Ryan (2008b) analyses the way Irish migrant women dealt with the emotional burden of pleasing relatives in Ireland and Burrell (2012) acknowledges that women migrants are exposed to emotional tensions mainly through their familial roles and positions. Women have also been seen to express distress rather than anger at gender-role inequities and this may eventually lead to depression (Brody, 2001: 278). The distress shown by Krystyna highlights the pressures which may be building up inside her and these pressures may indicate the possibility of mental health issues in the future.

It is not only women who find it hard to deal with the idea that they have left their parents at a time when they are needed. Michal's mother is also seriously ill and he would like to go back to Poland if he could afford it but his earnings in the UK will not currently allow this. Brody (2001: 276) suggests that men often seek to blame others rather than themselves and this may be a way of distancing themselves from problems. It would certainly not cost much to return to Poland for a short visit and the excuse of not being able to afford it may be a way of shifting blame from himself; there is possibly a much deeper reason for not returning to see his mother. At the moment Michal (48) is unemployed and claiming Jobseekers' Allowance but he is actively looking for work and has now been here for six years. He is worried about his mother but does not wish to discuss it as he feels it is his "private problem". To bring this out into the open would be to reflect upon his failure to be there with his mother when needed. This feeling of guilt about elderly parents is not confined to migrants only, but is common across nationalities in a modern world where transnational mobility is the accepted norm. It is perhaps magnified in the case of people like Michal who do not have the financial resources to provide support when needed and who therefore feel out of control. This perception of not being in charge of their own destiny has an effect on migrants and impacts the feeling of guilt about leaving elderly parents. Peteet (1991) found that migrants feel powerless at the loss of control over their destiny and Hong's (2011) study of Chinese workers migrating to the city suggests that their experiences are aggravated by their lack of resources to control their personal destiny; like Michal they migrate in the hope of improving their prospects, but instead they end up going from one dead end job to another. Michal came to England six years ago and is still not in a position where he has gained financially from his migration experience; instead his reluctance to talk about his

“private problem” and his inability to afford to travel back to Poland to visit an elderly parent indicate that his new life in England has not been exactly what he expected.

Even when there seem to be options for addressing the perceived abandonment of elderly parents, it does not always mean that the best option is taken up, as Irena (47) has found. Irena wanted her mother to come to the UK as well, as her mother has had two strokes and needs care, while Irena is a trained nurse. This seemed an ideal solution as then Irena could look after her mother without worrying about her being left behind in Poland. However, her mother did not want to leave Poland and now Irena has to leave her mother in the care of her sister, which was a very difficult decision. Irena appreciates being able to contact her mother by phone and internet, but she still feels she should be the one caring for her mother as she has the right skills to do so. She particularly enjoyed the satisfaction in nursing older people and says: “I felt absolutely for them, I was dedicated to them.”

However, she has not been able to do that for her own mother, the woman who decided that Irena should go into nursing in the first place, the woman who said her daughter would “make a perfect nurse”. Whereas Krystyna has been able to find happiness despite her guilt at leaving her mother, Irena is not happy living in England. She feels she is obliged to fit in with her husband’s and sons’ wishes to live here, but she does not want to be here – “sometimes I think I can pack up my bags and go back”. She is depressed and says: “I lost something from my life”.

From being an independent woman in Poland, with a very good career as a nursing sister, Irena is now dependent on her husband, and she is not able to see any value to what she is doing with her life. Had her mother come to England, then Irena would have felt she was making a contribution, that she was doing something worthwhile. However, now her unqualified sister is taking on Irena’s role. It has been two years since Irena returned to Poland as they cannot afford for the whole family to visit, and the decision was made to allow the three sons to spend a month in Poland instead, so they do not lose their culture. Like Michal, Irena has her own private problem with a lack of resources.

I was a sister in a hospital and my heart, my life was in Poland but my husband and sons were here. My mum had a stroke twice and she needs care and my sister stayed with her. I wanted her to come with me but she wouldn’t. For me it is difficult but the internet and phone help me.

The issues in dealing with elderly parents are not related solely to migration as this is a problem faced by many in their forties and fifties and the burden often falls on the women, although as has been discussed, men can also be affected. It is especially difficult when migration is involved as the perception is that the elderly parents are far away in another country. In their study of Italian migrants and their relationship with elderly parents, Baldassar (2011:175) suggests that caring in a migration setting can only be carried out through making visits home or by transnational communication. The importance of a visit is highlighted as it is this which gives reassurance (Baldassar, 2011:179) and, although Irena is able to use communication technology, she is not able to assess for herself the gravity of her mother's condition.

Burrell (2008) discusses the way earlier Polish migrant women would send parcels back to Poland as a way of appeasing the guilt they felt at leaving parents or other family members behind. This guilt at leaving elderly parents is not diminished by the satisfaction of knowing that the decision to migrate was the right one for the family unit, and it is worsened by the inability to be physically there with parents on a regular basis, even though their care may be adequately accommodated. Turner (2005: 535) argues that transnational migrants face an additional burden in trying to fulfil their obligations to provide care for family members as they may then be called upon to reflect on their own identity and where they belonged. Turner (2005: 535) found that siblings could be in conflict over caring as the primary caregiver could prevent the distant sibling from participating, or they could demand assistance from them. This serves to impact the feeling of guilt that people like Irena have in not being physically there to help with ageing parents. Irena has found it even more difficult as they cannot afford to make visits home: "I went back once over a year ago as it's too expensive".

However, Dhar (2011) suggests that a visit home is to offer respite from caring activities to the local sibling, and these visits often come at great cost to the migrant, who may be required to give up their holiday time or take unpaid leave in order to provide assistance. This may have an effect on spousal relationships as their own quality family time is reduced by the obligation to be with ageing parents in the homeland. As Krystyna says: "In Poland we have no holiday, we haven't time to relax."

Many of the older migrants in this study are typically what are referred to as “the sandwich generation”, who are caught between caring for both elderly parents and children. The position they are at in their family life stage must therefore be considered as significant to their migration experience. However, it is not possible to discount their age; if these migrants were younger, then their parents might not be at that crucial stage where they required more care. As can be seen with Michal, it is not only women and those with children who are concerned with leaving elderly parents behind in Poland. The solution for some may be to include their parents and bring them to the UK with the family; this may work when children are young and grandparents can help with childcare issues. Krystyna and Irena have a similar situation; both have elderly parents who are unwell. Their own teenage children are more independent, and their parents remain in Poland. There may be more reluctance on the part of elderly parents to come to the UK with their children as they may consider themselves a burden if they are unable to contribute; whereas they might have been able to help with childcare when the grandchildren were young, they may feel they are no longer needed. This may in itself be attributed to the age of the elderly parents, but it is also partly to do with the life stage although, as can be seen in the next section, many of the older migrants in this study are also grandparents.

4.3 Responsibilities to Children

For this age group there are responsibilities not just towards the older generation but also to children and grandchildren. Some of the older migrants had come to England to be with younger family members already here. Treas (2008) finds that, although older migrants may depend on younger ones, they do help out, especially with grandchildren, and they are more prepared to adapt and compromise, moving between countries to stay with their children, albeit often only staying for short periods of time. From an age perspective, it was not always possible to differentiate between those at specific family stages. Participants in their forties and early fifties were just as likely to be parents of dependent children as grandparents.

Beata (51) makes regular visits to her daughter and grandchildren and says that she would not come to England otherwise. However, Beata is herself used to separated

families. When she was young, her father worked in the city while she lived with her mother in a small village for the first seven years of her life. This was because Beata's mother had been a teacher and was obliged to work in this particular village school. Beata recognises that her generation is the last one from communist times when people had to obey orders and she feels this is why they are different, more accepting. She has a more pragmatic attitude to separation as she weighs up the logistics of travelling to England by plane, which she says is cheaper than travelling across Poland to visit her brother in Warsaw. Beata visits England for up to five months at a time to stay with her daughter. Although she has a professional career, she has been able to take this amount of time off work as she has been unwell. She has three children in three different countries; one of her sons is living with her in Poland but the other is in Ireland and so she has grandchildren in England and Ireland. She says that the best holiday time for her is spending time with her grandchildren and it is obvious that she misses them – "There's a problem now to decide whether to go back or stay here. I would love to stay with the grandchildren, play with them. I am more patient".

Despite Beata's acknowledgement that she was conditioned to obey orders, she was nevertheless in a more privileged position than many as her work as a prosecutor suggests a higher socioeconomic status. Bornstein et al (2011) find that workers in higher socioeconomic positions learn that success depends on initiative, and they pass these characteristics down to their children. Beata's daughter is leading a very proactive life in England, running a Polish community organisation and working in the legal sector, and she has indeed been using her own initiative to make a success of her life in England. These same characteristics will then be passed down to her own children and reinforced by their grandmother. It is therefore important that this family link is not broken and by coming to England frequently to keep contact with her grandchildren, Beata is making an intergenerational connection to strengthen the values and aspirations handed down through families. Grandparents are transferring cultural capital to their grandchildren. There is growing recognition of the role that older people play in the lives of their families. A Department of Social Security policy paper makes it plain that people such as Beata can have a positive influence on their families: "We believe their roles as mentors – providing ongoing support and advice

to families, young people and other older people – should be recognised.” (DSS, 1998)

It may be considered that migration in itself is an aspiration to improve socioeconomic status but Bornstein et al (2011) argue that it depends on the level of the positions people are working at which define how families view success; while the higher socioeconomic levels learn that success depends on initiative, the lower socioeconomic levels conform to established rules and regulations. Somerville et al's (2009) report shows that by 2008 Polish nationals were the largest foreign national group in the United Kingdom and that they worked mainly in low paid jobs, with only twelve per cent of Eastern European immigrants working in highly skilled occupations. This has led to assumptions that Polish people were working at lower socioeconomic levels than they did in their own country. However, Payne et al (2009) found that younger Poles were doing similar work to what they had been doing previously and indeed migration has enabled them mobility into more skilled occupations. Although the study looked at younger people, many of the older Polish migrants are benefiting from being employed and are prepared to accept lower skilled occupations after their experiences in Poland, where they were not able to find suitable work. As McKeon (2014) argues, the political changes in Poland which led to them losing their jobs have had a profound effect on older migrants; they felt they were victimised in Poland because of their age.

Szymon (62) says he came to England because of his children. Although he felt very bad at leaving Poland, he no longer had a job due to his age, and he concurred that he also came to this country for a better way of life. As Twenge et al (2010) point out, older people, the so-called baby boomers, rely on jobs to provide them with the opportunity for making friends, and this is what adds to the quality of their lives. Consequently Szymon is prepared to look positively at the experience of migrating to England and has no plans to return to Poland. His children helped him find work and a home here and research has shown that assistance from adult children can also improve the sense of wellbeing in older people (Pillemer et al, 2000), possibly because it gives them a sense of purpose and a feeling of still belonging to a family unit.

Migration culture has changed in the past twenty years. Zontini (2010) reports in her recent study that Filipino and Moroccan children are normally left in the country of origin, when parents are going to work in another country. Robila (2010) also relates that in other Eastern European countries such as Romania around twenty per cent of children aged between ten and fifteen are left behind. Moldova has an even higher thirty per cent of children separated from parents (Robila, 2010), but this is no longer the accepted culture amongst the Polish migrants. Whereas previously there had been a pattern of leaving children with grandparents whom they trusted, families are no longer prepared to tolerate long-term separation (White, 2011).

Gabriela (52) was looking after her grandson in Poland while her daughter was working in hotels in London but when he was six, they had to decide whether he was going to attend school in England or Poland. The decision was made to bring him to England to be with his parents. Gabriela then came to England with him and she was prepared to work as a cleaner in order to be self-supporting. She did not know a word of English and could not even understand the instructions given by her employers. Everything had to be put in writing so she could then ask her daughter to translate, and she found this very embarrassing to be so dependent on others. However, she was willing to endure this as all her family is now in England and there is nothing left in Poland for her. Her support comes from her daughter, and she says she knows her daughter will look after her in the future. This theme of being there to help a younger generation, of stepping in to support adult children, even to the extent of migrating to be near them, has been highlighted by Kulu & Milewski (2007). Previous studies seemed to indicate that older migrants were more dependent on their children, requiring financial and linguistic as well as emotional support. However, families are dynamic entities and it is not always easy to judge at face value. Gabriela says that her daughter offered her a lifeline and rescued her from her empty existence in Poland, but she fails to express that, without her, the daughter could not have migrated and set up a new home in the United Kingdom. There is no indication that Gabriela even recognises the value of her contribution, nor that she is aware that her daughter needed her to come and be there for her as well. It is consequently a mutually supportive relationship.

There is no doubt that grandparents make a valuable contribution to family life and within the stories of older migrants are many fond references to their own grandparents. Justyna (47) recognises the influence of her grandmother:

My sister and I grew up with my grandmother. My grandparents lived at the end of the same street and my grandmother came to our house to look after us. My grandmother worked all the time, she speaks two languages and she was a local interpreter for everyone and she always said the woman has to be able to earn money for herself.

Michalina (56) also has good memories of growing up with her own grandmother:

There were very strong ties with my mother's mother, our grandmother, we were very frequently taken to her place....she had a big flat, which was a kind of sanctuary so this was completely different life and every time I went to my grandmother, I was spoilt and treated like a princess....I was always treated special by her, and had a special diet like I always ate a lot of strawberries and cream and ate breakfast in bed.

With so many of their own parents working full-time, these older migrants did spend time with grandparents during school holidays. Emilia (56) says: "When I was young, because my grandparents lived in a village outside of the city, they had a small farm, every summer when we had school holidays, I went to my grandparents' house." Brygida grew up in a fourth floor flat in a city but her parents both came from the country and the grandparents still lived in a country village. In school holidays her parents could not afford to take more than a few days off work: "I remember all my holidays with my grandparents. All the grandchildren were sent to the village on holiday."

Grandparents now are taking a more proactive approach and, although Hanne (61) had lived most of her adult life as a "typical housewife, a happy housewife" in a country village, she is now making her third visit to stay with her daughter in England. Hanne had daughters in two different countries, in this case the UK and Greece, but after four years the one in Greece returned to Poland. She is pleased that now she is retired she can spend more time in England with her daughter and grandson. The familial ties are seen to be stronger than the ties to home and culture; although Hanne has little English and had rarely travelled outside her home previously, she is still prepared to move countries as she can envisage herself making a home here with her daughter. She says: "I wouldn't even think about it for five minutes" if given the chance to come and live permanently with her daughter.

The grandparent-grandchild relationship is one of the closest family relationships, although little is known about the socio-emotional qualities of these relationships, according to Fingerman et al (2011). Drew & Smith (2002), however, indicate that the implications for grandparents when they lose contact with their grandchildren, perhaps through geographical separation, can be immense: they relate the loss of contact to a reduced quality of life in the grandparents. It is therefore important to acknowledge the efforts that these older migrants are making to maintain their relationship with grandchildren, even when it means leaving their own familiar environment.

Recently there have been calls for more research into exploring the needs of children and their experiences of migration; Pantea & Piperno (2011) comment that, although children are invisible in research, they participate as part of the family and are often the rationale behind migration. This is quite clearly seen in the attitudes of the older migrants and indeed in their feelings about eventually returning to Poland. Those who had children made it clear that they had migrated to enhance the lives of their children, and whatever their own feelings about life in Britain, they would still remain to support children. Marek (49) believes that the opportunities in the UK are greater for his children and he is living for his children, to improve their lives. He is particularly impressed with the way the teachers in England were able to deal with his dyslexic son, especially when there was also a language barrier. In Poland he had been told his son needed to be in a special school because he had Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, and he felt they were simply trying to offload the problem; the English teachers did not recognise it as being a big problem and now his son was doing really well at school and thinking about going to college. Marek felt this lack of professionalism in Poland highlights the difference between the two countries and explains that this is why he does not want to go back to Poland, that he feels the family's future lies in the UK.

The families with school age children are exposed to the new society in a different way from those with older children or without children. Their focus is on ensuring that their children are happy in their schools, with their new friends and with their environment. This may also account for why these families choose to move to areas where there are not large migrant populations. They make informed decisions about schools and housing which are going to meet the needs of their family. The primary

motivation for older migrants is to provide for a better future for their children. Teresa (50) indicates the extent to which they are prepared to do this: "I came here for a better life and I think my children will have a better future here. So I think I will stay here, although I am not really happy here." This would appear to be in contrast to the findings of Uherek (2011) who investigated a similar flow of migrants from East to West in looking at immigration from the Ukraine to the Czech Republic. They find that those who migrate are motivated by the desire to improve their material living conditions and suggest that such migrants are only interested in what they can buy (Uherek, 2011: 290). The Polish migrants do not show any such material obsessions, rather a desire to look to the future and to improve the opportunities and prospects for their children. Despite living in a consumer society, their interest does not lie in accumulating possessions, unlike Uherek's (2011) Ukrainian migrants, who also come from a socialist background. As Helen Kopnina (2005) asserts, economic migration alone is not enough motivation to make the journey into the unknown.

It is also worth considering the older migrants in this study who are on short-term visits. The effect of younger people migrating can have a significant impact on parents who are not able to join them permanently. Jerzy (58) comes to visit his son-in-law and only daughter who are now settled in London but he says: "now we have no plan for the future as they live here so far away from us". He had always planned on building a big house in Poland which they could share with the children. His whole life has been spent working hard and he admits that life is good for him: "We have our own flat, we have two cars, we have work" but he is aware that the future for his children in Poland is not as good and that it is better for them to stay in Britain.

Elzbieta (60) also regrets that her only son is now living in the UK and she hopes that he will come back one day to live close to her. She is not able to give up her house and job to come and join him in London permanently as she would then lose everything she had worked for. However, she finds it hard that her future is not linked to his: "It's a shame they are living far from me. If they came back, I would find a job for them in the newspaper but I cannot offer the same money as here. It's a shame for me. The best people with knowledge came to the UK".

The impact on older parents left behind is in some ways quite devastating, not because they want their children to stay and care for them, but because they feel

that everything they have worked for all their lives has been for nothing, that the future they had planned for their children will now never happen. They do recognise the choice their children have made and they know it is for the best, but their own hopes for the future have had to be set aside. This is when the parents have secure jobs or responsibilities in Poland and their own life course does not allow for any deviation at this stage, and their own links with their family must be through temporary migration.

Those who do make the journey to Britain to support younger members of the family, either children or grandchildren, are often making a sacrifice in giving up their Polish homes and networks. It has not been noted that they are the ones being supported, although they may perceive that they are, and this perception may be reinforced subconsciously by their children. For older migrants joining younger family members the concept of home is where they see their future and the family is that future. This has a positive long-term effect for the grandchildren as they will feel close to grandparents based on this relationship throughout their childhood: this builds a strong, long-lasting intergenerational solidarity (Dickson et al, 2004) and highlights the important contribution grandparents make in supporting the family. It is also interesting to note that the main determinant of distance between adult children and their parents seems, according to Kulu & Milewski (2007), to be the need to support the younger rather than the older generation. The concept of home has many dimensions and for older migrants the need to nurture and protect their children, even when they become adults, may prove stronger than the ties of the homeland and the familiarity of their environment.

Nevertheless, family relationships are essential for the social cohesion of our communities and migration does create a rift in this social fabric. It is therefore important to acknowledge the efforts that are being made to sustain such fundamental relationships across transnational spaces. Wilding & Baldassar (2009) describe in their study of Irish and Italian migrant families in Australia how family ties are sustained through visits, telephone calls and emails. However, this does not take into account the amount of time available for managing momentous events in family lives. Demands of work in the new country mean that there is limited time to deal with challenging issues such as bereavement or illness in the home country (Wilding et al, 2009).

In the investigation of Polish families it was interesting to note that the elderly parents were the ones who supported the decision to migrate and did not want their families to give up opportunities and stay in Poland to provide care. These elderly parents, sometimes in poor health, encouraged their families to stay in the UK. This was in contrast to Wilding et al's (2009) study which finds that there was often an expectation that families would return to their homeland to provide care when needed. Family relationships of older Polish migrants to the UK are supportive in a way that shows the strength of family ties, which are not diminished in any way by distance and borders.

It is inevitable that there will be feelings of doubt and guilt at separations. Nevertheless, in allowing family members to take up opportunities and in giving them the freedom to make their own choices without putting on them the pressure of family obligations, these Polish migrant families indicate that they have the right strategies for sustaining successful family relationships.

4.4 Divided Families

Whereas some older migrants may come to be with family members already in the United Kingdom, there are many others who are separated by migration and who find it hard to reconcile their new lives with the lives they lived before. This is not just with grandparents and grandchildren, but also with husbands and wives, who are sometimes forced to spend considerable time apart and to reconsider their role within the family.

Krystyna and her husband were apart for one and a half years while he was working and trying to get some money to buy their flat in Warsaw. She thought her husband was: "very brave coming to England on his own". He had lost his job in Poland and he was able to get a contract as a lorry driver in England. At the time they had severe financial problems and the offer of regular and well-paid work was too good to turn down. While her husband was working in England, he was able to cover his own expenses as well as Krystyna's living costs in Poland, and in addition he had enough money left over to put into a savings account. This then enabled Krystyna and her son to join her husband and be together as a family. While she was living alone in Poland, Krystyna was able to focus on the positive side of being separated because: "I stayed one and a half years and it was still the same, no better".

The impact of any psychological or social consequences of family separation for economic reasons is not yet fully understood and there is a lack of information available for parents to make informed decisions about the impact this may have (Robila, 2010). Family members may suffer psychological costs resulting from separation from family and friends and this is exacerbated when adjusting to a new language and culture (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2009). While Krystyna can see the benefits of separation from her husband, she does tend to emphasise the way in which all their financial problems were solved through migration. This may be a way of convincing herself that her sacrifice has been worthwhile. There is a certain amount of bravado in the way she says that in Poland: "I had lots of friends from childhood so they were always with me. There was no need to find new friends".

When asked about friends in England, where she has now lived for six years, she admitted to having one English colleague at work with whom she is friendly, although they never meet up outside the workplace. As research continues to show, the quality of life is improved by friendships which directly influence the levels of happiness (Nevid, 2011). Although Krystyna is ostensibly happy within her nuclear family, her contentment could certainly be raised by developing friendship circles in her new environment. It is difficult to accept that someone who has had a strong network of friends since childhood does not miss the benefits of such friendships. This becomes even more important as people grow older and research has shown that there is a strong connection between friendship activity and psychological well-being (Adams, 1986), while a ten year study carried out at Flinders University (ALSA, 2011) has determined that friendships increase longevity in older people. It is believed that because friends have similar interests, and that people have a choice over the friends they make, that the connection between them can be even stronger than with their family in promoting a sense of well-being (Adams, 1986).

It has been traditional, but now it is no longer always the men who migrate first: Brygida (42) received a telephone call on a Saturday from a friend she met when learning English, and this friend had just arrived in England and found there was a position as housekeeper available in the hotel where she had been given a job. However, they needed immediate confirmation. Brygida phoned straight back and said she was coming. Both she and her husband were unemployed.

My husband said you are leaving me here with three children, you are crazy. But I left my husband with the three children. I knew we had no money. I came by plane and my friend met me. I bought a telephone card in case she was not there. I came alone and I was crying a lot. I came on the Monday and on Wednesday I started work. On the Monday evening I found a room and on Tuesday an interview and I started work on Wednesday.

She left her husband for six months looking after their three children on his own. It was a case of the minimum wage in England being more than the two of them could earn in Poland. Brygida says: "In the beginning it was fun, I was alone. But when I came back from work and there were four walls and I was alone, I was crying a lot. The first night in my room there was nothing apart from a duvet from my friend. I was crying."

The loneliness of the migration experience has been identified here and there is no reason to think that men do not suffer in a similar way, although they may not be so ready to acknowledge it; in any life narrative people can choose what to tell and what not to tell (McAdams, 2011), although Toliver (1993) suggests that husbands have the least trouble adjusting to relocation. This may not be true, it may well be that men are more adept at hiding their feelings. After six months Brygida's husband decided to join her and he brought one son with him but the other two children stayed with Brygida's mother until they could afford to send for them. This may have an effect on the children in the future as they may feel they were abandoned when their parents left them behind. It is an area which is worth investigating more; anecdotal evidence from Irish children left in Ireland when their parents came to the UK looking for work in the 1950s indicates that they retained feelings of rejection long after they had been reunited with their families.

Zygmunt (59) left his wife and two children behind when he came with his son as a tourist to the UK just before Accession. They wanted to be the first to find work in the country as they knew Poland was going to join the EU and in Poland he could not find work as he was over fifty years old. He had been made redundant, lived on benefits for a year, and then just been given short term jobs so he knew he could not support his family on his earnings. His family eventually joined him here although his daughter finally arrived seven years after his migration, by which time she had somewhere to come to, so the migration experience was made easier for her. Zygmunt was a telecommunications worker until made redundant after thirty four

years of service. He accepted anything that was available and worked as a postman and electrician before coming to Britain. Once here he tried to become a chef but his English was not good enough, so he is now a butcher. Zygmunt had a plan and it was a family decision to leave Poland but he admits he had no choice because of his age, and it has taken nearly eight years for the family to be reunited. There can be long separations as family members decide on the right time for them to migrate. Often this is linked to their life course time and rhythms (Burrell, 2008); when Zygmunt and his son made the journey to Britain eight years ago, then they had both decided it fitted into their plans for the future. Although they were both at different stages of their life, Zygmunt's son was young and looking to improve his economic prospects, moving from Eastern Europe to the West as soon as the door of opportunity opened. Zygmunt, further along his life journey, also saw his chance to take advantage of the political context of Poland becoming part of the EU as he had heard: "it was good finding jobs in England". His daughter was not yet ready and it took eight years before the time and conditions were right for her to join them.

For some, the time never seems to be right for them to be together and there are long periods when families are separated: Jakub (45) has been living in England for four years but his entire family is still in Poland and he said if he could afford to bring his family here, then he would be happy as he is working for a better life for them. He does admit: "there are good and bad things about being here – my family is there and, if I could bring my family here, I would stay here". He is a truck driver and he is used to travelling and being on his own, but he confesses: "I was forced to come to the UK because of money".

He too uses the internet every day to keep in touch with his family, and if he had longer holidays, he would go home to visit his family. The men separated from their wives do not talk about loneliness but they do miss their families. Wiktor (55) has been in the UK for two and a half years and has been separated from his wife in that period. He was very excited as he was going back to visit her in Poland in three weeks' time. His biggest regret is that he is not with his wife, but he works hard and does not have a lot of time to think about that.

Relocation is often more difficult for partners and Toliver (1993) suggests that it is women who pay the greatest price, perhaps considering their lack of family support

networks. Looking at the experiences of Jakub and Wiktor, it cannot be determined that the price they are paying is any less than that of the women. It may be argued that the price they are paying is higher as they are working very hard to improve their family's financial position, and yet they are not receiving the care and physical presence of a grateful and supportive family environment. Indeed it may even be that women are more able to express their emotions and consequently to brood more upon the sacrifice they feel they are making. The men left on their own in Britain for longer periods do not admit to loneliness, partly because they are more adept at hiding their feelings. They involve themselves in work during the day, and after work they are more likely to be able to join in social activities such as going to the pub. However, the excitement with which Wiktor is anticipating a reunion with his wife, and the longing in Jakub's admission that he would be happy if he could afford to bring his wife to Britain, provide a brief insight into the difficulties these men face when migrating on their own. Nevertheless, they do seem to be better prepared to address these challenges and this is likely to be due to their age and the stability of their marriage and family life. They have both focused on the positive aspects of their migration. Jakub says: "You know, I came here for a better life, with more money, a better future for the children and I have to think of that."

Irena's husband came to the UK in 2005 and then her eldest son followed a year later but Irena did not want to come. Her husband had been out of work and it was his opportunity to find a job as a mechanic. However, Irena had a house and a very good job which she did not want to give up. When her second son also wanted to come to the UK, she knew she had to make some kind of decision. It was very difficult being apart from her husband but it still took two years for her to join him. Changing lives means moving away from support networks and extended families and is more difficult for partners as there is more uncertainty for them (Green & Canny, 2003). Irena admits to being depressed. She has even tried inviting her Polish friends to come and visit them in England, but none of them can afford it. Her life was good in Poland but she cannot cope with the way her social status has dropped since coming to England. This is having an impact on her relationship with her husband and she says: "I don't think he understands. Man is man. He's completely different. He says 'What's wrong? No problem!'."

The problem is that Irena's husband is happy with his new life in Britain. He has found a job he enjoys and he is back in control of his life after spending some years unemployed in Poland. Despite the advances in women's equality, the roles of men as breadwinners and women as homemakers is more distinct when they marry and have children (Sigelman & Rider, 2011) and both Irena and her husband are of a generation when men were expected to take on the role of breadwinner. The years spent unemployed in Poland while his wife was holding down a responsible job must have been difficult for him, but now he has found pride in once more being the one to provide for his family. This reversal of roles is something that Irena cannot handle, and she is also finding it hard to walk away from her twenty four years of training as a nurse. She has not been able to discuss her feelings with her husband and she is building up a barrier between them as she starts to feel resentment that he is happy with his present situation. There has been such a great change in her life caused by this migration.

In their 2003 study, Green & Canny highlight the risks that are involved when lives change: they recognise that it becomes harder to accept changes when people grow older and that it can trigger family break-ups as older people like stability and become dependent on the people around them. Julia (45) was widowed when very young and she brought up her children on her own. However, she did have very good friends and neighbours in Poland. This neighbour's wife found work in the UK and the husband followed, but not immediately. When he did arrive, he found that his wife had cheated on him, and they split up. He then invited Julia to join him, she resigned immediately from her job, and came to be with him. The stability that had been lost due to his wife's unfaithfulness was resurrected by going back to someone familiar in his life, the neighbour who had always been there.

In her study on female Indonesian maids migrating to work in Saudi Arabia, Silvey (2006) finds that separation is often a cause for divorce; she looks at how the women work to provide a better lifestyle for the families left behind but the husbands are deprived of the comforts supplied by a wife and they start to look elsewhere. It may well be that one of the partners begins to feel less valued as a family member and needs to have affirmation of this role and they seek someone who will recognise their worth. Chamberlain & Leydesdorff (2004) suggest that migrants in transnational families lead ambivalent and contradictory lives, that they are different people in

different contexts, and this may be where Julia's neighbours could not reconcile these different roles.

Relocation can also be the catalyst in a failing relationship (Green & Canny, 2003). The decision to migrate may have been brought about because there was dissatisfaction within their personal lives and, with separation, the wife was ready to move on to a new relationship. Although the husband came to England to join his wife, there must already have been some understanding between him and Julia for her to agree to come and be with him when his marriage broke up. Julia says she came to the United Kingdom "for love" but that love must have been developing prior to her neighbour leaving Poland. Mai and King (2009) have identified love as being a key factor in making migration decisions and it is certainly seen as the primary motivation for migration in Julia's case. It can also be assumed that love has been the reason for the neighbour's wife developing a new relationship when she migrated; perhaps the love she had for her husband had weakened which was why she had been prepared to make the migratory journey alone. The emotional dimension of relationships within transnational families has not yet been fully investigated, and the expectations are that older migrants have more stable relationships. However, this is not necessarily so, as can be seen in Julia's situation.

The migration pattern where a woman migrates before her husband and children is becoming increasingly common and, Derby (2010) points out, it is radically reversing the migration patterns from the past. Women are becoming much more an economic force in the world and with more work opportunities becoming available to them, they are prepared to go on their own and find work so that they can contribute to the family income. There have been previous flows where women predominated; the majority of Irish migrants in the twentieth century were women (O'Sullivan, 1997; Ryan, 2008). However, they were mainly young and single and did not arrive as part of a family group (Ryan, 2007; Travers, 1997), in contrast to these older Polish migrants with dependent families. Within the life course, both men and women aged forty five and over are at a time in their life when they are making adjustments; they may have family responsibilities or financial concerns or personal problems. The way in which they approach these is very much on an individual basis, and their family life-stage may affect these choices, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Both

family and life stage are significant in relation to the impact they have on migration decisions.

When families are divided, they have to address many issues, among them loneliness. Although this may be a short-term issue, it can have a long-term impact. Change is always hard to accept and the changing roles of men and women who are separated by migration is not something that is properly addressed. Often the families are forced to look at their economic situation and to consider how migration will improve this, without considering the implications of separation in achieving this. In a world where families are divided by spatial boundaries, this knowledge that there is a family connection provides a stabilising effect and gives meaning to life. Dykstra et al (2006) argue that family relationships have a special form of time-spatial continuity which is lacking in any other kind of relationship and that the way they are embedded in family networks means that such relationships are maintained despite geographical distance.

Separations are inevitable and the emotional costs both of leaving their homeland and of being parted from husbands or wives are evident in the stories told by the older migrants. There is also an impact on those who remain in the homeland (Silver, 2006). This can be seen in the comments from Jerzy and Elzbieta, who have had to come to terms with their only children choosing to make a life for themselves in a foreign country. Although they can understand the reasons behind their children migrating, it does not take away the feeling that their own toils have been devalued, that the meaning of their lives has been somewhat diminished. Communication technology does help to reduce the impact and make the separation more bearable, but the sense of loss is still there.

4.5 Emotional Costs

As mentioned, the emotional costs of leaving the homeland can be high. Germany was always a popular destination for migrating Poles in the early 1900s as the cost of separation from families and relatives did not seem as high as the other alternative, going to America (Walaszek, 2010). Although they might not have had the same economic advantages as those going to America, there was the benefit of being able to stay in touch with family by working in Germany. However, according

to Walaszek (2010: 70), the majority of Poles going to America in the period before the First World War had no intention of staying; their intention was to make money and return home to Poland, very similar to the migrants of today. The earlier migrants still felt they belonged to their homeland, but they could face the separation from their country by believing it was a temporary migration (Walaszek, 2010:76). This was also used by Irish migrants going to New Zealand in the 1800s, where McCarthy (2005) believes that this anticipation of reunion may have suppressed the pain of separation. Sofia (62) is one who regards her time in the UK as temporary. She has been in England for five years, but her ties are still in Poland: "I felt really good when I arrived in the UK....but I don't want to stay here. I am planning on going back." There is also Elzbieta (60), who cannot accept anything other than temporary migration to the UK as: "I always want to be back in Poland as I am happy there."

McCarthy (2007) describes the deep despair of Irish migrants going to America in the 1930s and the despair and desolation of those left behind in the 1800s as members of the family emigrated to New Zealand; Irena's (47) reaction reflects those of earlier migrants: "It was difficult for me as everything I had, my life, my heart was there, and it was a very difficult decision for me. Sometimes I think I live under my obligations but I hope everything will change."

For Ewa (50) it was a big step to contemplate moving countries as she had not travelled before. She admits that she had a fear of the unknown and says it was very hard leaving friends and family, and very hard arriving in a new country:

I never travelled anywhere outside my own village but I could not find work there....I was afraid, very anxious about coming here. I came because I thought I would have a better life here with my family. But I do not think I have settled here very well. I cannot say I am happy here but I have to stay now as I do not have anything to go back to.

She has been in the UK now for more than five years, but she does not mix with people apart from her own family. Despite the fact that she migrated to find work, she is currently not working due to her poor command of English. This may account for her not feeling happy as she is not giving herself the chance to socialise. During the day she watches television and uses her computer, activities which reinforce her loneliness and isolation.

Magda (51) also found it a very anxious time contemplating migration, as she too had never travelled before. She has been living in Britain for six years and says it was so hard leaving friends and family. "We lived in a house but I did not have a good job.....what I remember most about it was the poverty. I did not know what would happen when I left Poland so I was not confident but I am happy here." She knew nobody when she arrived and found it difficult, but she has settled well. Like Ewa she watches Polish television and she enjoys staying at home and, although it was not easy finding work, she has a job as a cleaner in a school. She does not know English, but she says life is still good here.

It was not only the women who were emotional about leaving their country; it has also affected the men. Szymon (62) could not find work because of his age and, asked about his main memories of Poland, he said: "Hard work. But I felt very bad about leaving my country, bad, very bad." The men do try and put more of a positive aspect on the move, but there is an underlying emotion in their words. Wiktor (55) talks about his roots and his memories, which are very important to him: "We were a working class family. I've always lived in Poland and I know the country very well as I travelled around a bit. I had a good job and worked hard. My whole life there is very strong in my mind, I remember everything, but I feel very good about moving here."

He is still located in the past, although he has been living in the UK for two and a half years. While he believes he has settled well, he comments that he cannot do things the way he used to, that he is not with his wife, that his English is not good enough, and that he works too hard to join any clubs. Despite his saying that he would like to stay here, the indications are that he is hiding his true emotions as he does not want to articulate the loneliness of his current lifestyle. Wieslaw (55) has been in the UK for just three months and he does not feel he has settled well. He is trying to find a balance between the two countries, and seems to have made an effort to adapt to the new country: "I had many jobs, some good, some bad. There were times when I was earning lots of money and other times when I was struggling. I feel a bit sad that I have left some friends but I have met many people here and I like this multicultural society." Yet he cannot bring himself to talk about staying in the UK, and he also mentions the shock to his system at having to work night shifts, as well as not having free time. Crucially he says: "I always used to do normal things like other people."

There is a deep emotion in those words, suggesting that he is finding the transition harder than expected, and that he no longer feels the same person he was before leaving Poland. Both the men and women in this study experience a feeling of loss at leaving Poland. While the women tend to articulate their feelings, the men try and find something positive to say about the UK. The women talk about their unhappiness, but the men do not want to discuss their feelings. Nevertheless, there are signs that leaving their homeland affects both men and women equally, albeit in different ways.

4.6 Family Motivations

Cliggett (2000) suggests that in many cases migration is used as a way of alleviating conflicts at home and that people move to new places to improve their social environment. Many of the tensions within families may well have been caused by financial worries as the employment situation in Poland for older people has been hard for some years. Nawojczyk (2008) carried out a study of people starting up their own businesses in Poland and he first interviewed in 2002, then later in 2005/6, with the majority of interviewees being over the age of forty; he found that when companies restructured, women were the first to get fired, and if they were older than thirty five, then their prospects were limited.

Most of the older migrants coming to work in the United Kingdom do keep contact with family and friends in Poland but Casmir (50) does not keep in touch with anyone in Poland apart from his family. He is trying to break off all contact and make a new life for himself with the Polish people he meets in the UK in his work as a builder. Although he admits he did not have a good job in Poland, he came to England on his own without knowing anyone here. He is trying to reinvent himself and the migration process is acting for him as a new beginning or a catalyst for change (Oliver, 2007). Casmir is reluctant to talk about his past in Poland, but he is happy with his new life in England. He has made a conscious decision to break with the past, but he still keeps contact with his family. He cannot change his family, and this consistency of family relationships provides the social cohesion lacking in a society where the church and local communities have become less important (Dykstra et al, 2006). In a world where families are divided by spatial boundaries, this knowledge that there is a family connection provides a stabilising effect and gives meaning to life; Dykstra et al (2006) argue that family relationships have a special form of temporal-spatial

continuity which is lacking in any other kind of relationship and that the way they are embedded in family networks means that such relationships are maintained despite geographical distance.

Although the motivation for migrating may be to start a new life in the host country, there will always be ties to family in the home country. This continues to give identity to these older migrants, who in many ways find it harder trying to reinvent themselves than younger migrants. Too much of their social capital has been invested in their home country. The importance of social networks in reducing the risks of migration has been well documented and indeed eighty per cent of these older migrants relied on family, friends or Polish networks to help find work and accommodation when they arrived, but Hollifield (2000) argues that transnational communities are themselves a form of social capital. This would imply that migrants bring their own values and lifestyles to the host country (Kennedy & Roudometof, 2002). The way that these older migrants encourage the use of Polish television in their family homes and their continued use of the Polish language in an English environment show that they will not readily relinquish their links to their Polish background. However, it may also be creating a barrier between them and their children, whose future they see as being in Britain.

Feliks (47) also moved to the UK so his children could have a better life here. Although he is an only child, he believes his mother, who is still in Poland, is used to the concept of travelling so she has a positive attitude to the family staying on in the UK. His father was a soldier and they moved around a lot when he was a child, and as an adult the job he most enjoyed involved travelling abroad, collecting things to sell at market. He liked travelling to England, driving for about twenty five hours across Europe. When he arrived in England he could not find a job despite numerous trips to job agencies and he said: "I started to think about going back to Poland." Now that he is self-employed and has a house, he feels he has settled well although he does not indicate that he is happy. When questioned as to whether he was quite happy living in Britain, his response was: "Yes, OK. I moved here so my children will have a better life here". Feliks's wife moved first to the UK as she had found work, and he made the decision to stay home in Poland and look after the children until they could all join her. The main reason for him making the move to England was that he: "came to the conclusion that my wife was not earning enough

to have a house here and a house there and living here and there". In 1987 Feliks and his wife had started up their own little market trade business together, which he describes as an exciting time and a good time for small businesses as there was not a lot of competition and there were no taxes to pay, but trading had become progressively difficult in later years as there was too much competition. Janik (2008) reports that in the first half of the 1990s small businesses in Poland flourished, but from the mid-1990s development stalled due to bureaucracy and growing competition from foreign companies; this lack of recognition of the importance to the Polish economy of micro businesses such as Feliks's has led to greater unemployment within this sector. With trading conditions becoming more difficult so that the business could no longer sustain two workers, and with a growing family, Feliks was ready to agree that his wife should take the opportunity of a better paid job in England, especially when she could not find work in Poland. They were a family unit making decisions which would benefit the whole family.

The survey carried out for this research on thirty six Polish migrants over the age of forty five (Appendix) shows that two thirds of respondents felt their children had more opportunities in the UK. Not all the older participants were at that stage in the family situation where they had young children; however, many did have young adult children. While it has been a common theme that parents have chosen to migrate because of the opportunities for their children, it is equally an aspirational objective for parents to encourage their adult children to migrate. Justyna (47) is hoping her son, who is studying at university in Warsaw, will come and live in the UK rather than go to Australia as she likes English culture. He is an internet project manager and comes regularly to the UK to stay with her niece, to whom she is very close. All of Justyna's family were close: she and her sister grew up with their grandmother looking after them while their parents worked. However, she comes from a very professional family, well used to travelling, and she says her own parents would not be surprised if she went to live somewhere like New York. The idea of living outside Poland is very appealing to her but she realises that her English language abilities are limited and she is unlikely to be able to achieve a job role in another country which is equal to the one she has in Poland. Some time ago she wanted to go to Germany as many of her childhood friends migrated there, but her husband would not leave his mother. Nevertheless, there were times of separation in Poland as

Justyna went off to pursue her career in Warsaw, while her husband stayed home and looked after their young son two hundred kilometres away. Her focus is now on the future of this son, although she recognises that he has his own life to lead.

Family motivations for migrating would appear to be for better opportunities for the whole family. Krystyna was able to buy her Warsaw flat so her elderly parents could live there and it has been shown how parents want to improve life chances for their children; it seems that this extends to adult children as well as younger children.

4.7 Life-Stage

Whereas these older migrants are at a certain stage within the life course, they are also at different stages of family life. Family structure is significant in the migration experience. The original family life cycle theory by Wells and Gubar (1966) divided the family cycle into nine stages; the older migrants in this study are within the categories of those with school-age children, those with older/non-dependent children, and those still working. Two of the women fall into the retired category. Modern sociological frameworks do not place as much emphasis on age as being the definer of life cycle trajectories; it is now recognised that life stages are more complex and can differ according to culture, experiences, social class and gender (Hunt, 2005: 21). There are consequently both similarities and differences in the narratives of these older migrants; it must be remembered that they are all individuals following a life course that is constantly changing. Nevertheless, these older migrants all share certain common characteristics which are related to their age; “they are likely to have been influenced by the same economic and cultural trends so that they typically display comparable attitudes and values and can claim similar experiences” (Hunt, 2005: 23). It can be seen in the stories of the participants in this study that the events they lived through in their homeland shaped their migratory experiences. Their age is therefore a significant factor.

Those who migrated with young families might be expected to have more similarities than differences. Feliks has an eight year old son and admits that he never went to church in Poland but now goes regularly once a month “because we have to”, as that is where he gets to socialise with his family. He likes having more time for himself; in Poland “I never had any time for anything”. Feliks is content to stay at home watching Polish television with his children. Magda works as a school cleaner and

says her young family's only social activity outside work is going to the Polish church. She says "we enjoy just staying at home and watching Polish television". Both Feliks and Magda concede that they are happy enough in the UK as they believe there are better opportunities for their children here. Teresa and her young family do not mix with Polish people at all; they socialise with English people. Although Teresa confesses that she is not happy in the UK, she is still prepared to stay so her children will have a better future.

Their family life stage may be similar but there are differences in their approach to life in the UK. Nevertheless, underlying their migration experience is the desire for better opportunities for their children in the future, which they feel are not available in Poland. The age of these migrants is important as they have a shared background and their experiences in Poland have shaped their views on what is best for their children. It is their age and not their family situation which is of particular significance.

Szymon is sixty-two years old and he migrated to the UK to be with his adult children. He said "I did have a good job in Poland but I no longer have a job because of my age", but he has now found work. Yet he has similar experiences to those who are at a different family life stage. Every week he too goes to the Polish church and he watches Polish television at home.

The life course is subject to many variables and it would be disingenuous to suggest that people can be categorised by age. However, experiences of childhood can have an impact on later life, as was discussed in Chapter 3 where early exposure to Western enchantment may have influenced migration decisions. The shared background these older migrants have in growing up under a socialist regime in the 1970s or earlier, and then experiencing the political transition as young adults, is likely to have shaped their migratory experience (Burrell, 2011b). Because of their age, their life course has followed a certain trajectory irrespective of their class and gender. People like Marek and Krystyna were well-educated but still lost their jobs in Poland. Hunt (2005: 35) points out that pre-industrial societies value older people and their status increases with age, yet in Western societies there is a cultural focus on being young. It is therefore harder for those aged over forty to deal with what they

may perceive as a loss of their value. This is particularly difficult when they have the extra responsibilities of caring for and supporting families.

Nevertheless, it must be recognised that a significant number of these older migrants came to the UK on their own. Within their life stage, however, they still have responsibilities, even if those are sometimes not so obvious. They are still responsible for their own lives and happiness; it is likely that their well-being impacts on siblings and parents. Fifty-five year old Wieslaw may not have a wife and children, but he is living in the UK with family members. At this stage in their life course, the older migrants need to feel they belong, and it may be that the wider family continues to fulfil that role. However, fifty-seven year old Sofia was retired, yet she came to the UK to work and she left her adult children behind in Poland.

Hunt (2005: 36) suggests that people are defined in different ways depending on the context in which they are interacting. The way that others see them will then impact on the way they define themselves. From being perceived as old and unemployable in Poland, these older migrants have found a new confidence in themselves; they can find work in the UK and therefore they are still valued. Work has been a significant factor in their migration decision, as those aged over forty were particularly vulnerable to unemployment in Poland. Family life-stage is a contributory factor for some, as their families depend on their financial support. Others have come for a better life, either for themselves or for their children. However, they are all defined by age; because of their age, they lost jobs in Poland, they needed to find work elsewhere to support their families, and they realised that life was not going to improve for them unless they migrated.

Once in the UK, they have different life experiences. Those with school-age children may be exposed to UK communities in a different way from those with adult children, or those living on their own. Nevertheless, many of their migratory experiences are similar, especially in the way they are happy to be working, whatever the level of those jobs. Their aspirations are often similar, in that they want a better life for themselves. However, despite their differences and similarities, these older migrants are fundamentally defined by their age. They do not perceive themselves as old, mainly because they are contributing either to their families or to society by being in

work. In Poland they felt their age was a barrier to their economic value, but migration has lowered that barrier.

4.8 Intention to Settle

White's (2011) study of Polish families finds that they do not usually arrive in Britain intending to settle and that there is a more open approach to what may happen in the future. However, these older migrants tend to have a long-term strategy. Marek (49) says: "I have never considered coming back to Poland. The choice we are living is for our families, for us, for our children...we have to live for ourselves."

Wojciech (46) admitted that it was difficult for him when he first arrived seven years ago as everything was different, but he feels he is now leading a normal life in this country: "It is very peaceful living here and I plan on staying here." The feeling of rejection caused by the push factors identified in Chapter three, which led to these older migrants leaving Poland, has gradually been replaced by a sense of belonging.

It seems that once the motivating factors have been taken into account, and families have made the decision to move to the United Kingdom, then the older migrants are more prepared to make the effort to stabilise the family environment and settle in the country. This attitude to settlement in the UK is in contrast to White and Ryan's (2008) study, which found that the migrants they interviewed between 2006 and 2008 had a more provisional and experimental attitude to settlement.

In most cases there has been an event which has led these older migrants to move country and often this has been redundancy. This has had a particular impact on this age group as age discrimination has been mentioned several times. Although it may have been difficult for everyone to find employment in Poland, it seems to have affected anyone over the age of forty. It has also been mentioned that it was even harder for women and, if aged over forty and also female, the chances of them finding other employment to supplement the family income were very limited. Redundancy, having been the catalyst for change, has enabled people to weigh up all their options and make decisions based on future security for their family. It has opened new doors of opportunity, which may not have been considered otherwise. Changes within the life course, such as redundancy, allow families to review their possibilities and readjust their plans for the future. This is not always an easy choice as Andrzej (55) admits: "I feel as if my country let me down, it did not give me a

chance therefore I had to look for an opportunity elsewhere and I am very sad about that. I am happy with my life here and I would like to stay but my thoughts are always in Poland.”

Migration may not always be the only alternative; Kopnina (2005) suggests that migrants have more information available to them now than ever before and they can therefore evaluate this information, hence the reason for more temporary migration. Once the initial risks are assessed by one partner, the other partner is more likely to join them, as in the case of Brygida whose husband arrived six months after her. This is especially pertinent to older migrants who are more likely to have additional responsibilities with families. However, once they have made this decision, older migrants have a more vested interest to settle and create a stable home life for their children.

Nor is there much evidence that these older migrants are living lonely and isolated lives, which had been found in some earlier studies (Loucky et al, 2006; Phillipson et al, 2000; Treas & Mazumdar, 2002; Treas, 2008; Leach, 2008). As with the Italians in Nottingham seen in Ganga's (2006a) study, it is often thanks to the closeness of family members that lives are more fulfilled even in a foreign country. The Polish migrants are also making regular trips back to Poland when possible, but perhaps one of the greatest advances is being able to maintain social networks of family and friends through electronic means; the use of Skype and internet are frequently used for communication as will be further explored in the next chapter. Any loneliness experienced tends to be when partners are divided and, once they are together again, they form their own self-sufficient family unit. This would appear to be a feeling of being alone in a foreign country rather than of being isolated, and can more easily be remedied by the appearance of the partner; it is short-term and does not necessarily lead to depression. Marek (49) summarises quite succinctly: “The technical level and standard of communications makes everyday contact easier. I'm thinking about the internet and things like that so we don't feel alone.”

The intention of older migrants to settle in the host country is a factor which needs to be considered and may have implications for future policy. There seems to be a more positive attitude towards long-term settlement in the UK from these older migrants than in a recent study of younger Polish migrants: Janta et al (2011) argue

that many young migrants are returning home as they see migration as a temporary experience. Decisions about returning home are based on emotional as well as economic costs (White, 2011: 236), and the indications are that many of the older migrants are balancing the emotional costs in favour of better opportunities for their children in the UK.

There is every indication that transnational family relationships will continue to be sustained through effective communication channels. It may not be the traditional approach to family relationships but as Warnes et al (2006) suggest, the approach may have changed yet relationships are still practised. They are possibly more complex in the modern world. Migrants may need to learn to adapt to changes in family relationships because of geographic distance, but the access to mobile phones and internet serve to make this a gradual transformation. The older migrants seem to be facing up to this challenge, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.9 Summary and Conclusion

Families have to address many issues when they become transnational families; for some time many of them maintain homes in the two countries as they make decisions on location, weighing up the risks of migrating, or raising the financial resources to fund the move. Combined with the practical issues, there are also the emotional issues. It is not an easy decision to migrate when elderly parents are involved, but the needs of the immediate family, the partners and children, tend to outweigh the perceived needs of parents. Loyalties and responsibilities are nevertheless always at the forefront of these older migrants' minds. When there are enough financial resources to make regular visits back to Poland, it does not lessen the feeling of guilt about leaving elderly parents behind, but it does seem to be a factor in the level of contentment experienced in living in the new country.

Moving countries for these older migrants is a decision not taken lightly; in their own country they have more ties than younger people and there are consequently more considerations. Their parents are more likely to be elderly, widowed or in poor health and there are reservations about leaving them. This has to be balanced against the possibility that they might not be able to support their families if they stay, because their age means they cannot find suitable employment. The participants in this study

cover a wide age range and are also at differing family stages, therefore they offer a nuanced view of family relationships related to migration. Some are parents, others are grandparents; some are single, others are widowed. Their age reflects a more complete picture of family life and the migration experience.

Once they have made the decision to migrate, older migrants are more likely to adapt to their circumstances. Although it may not be easy for them, they are prepared to make the most of the opportunity they have been given. Two thirds of those interviewed agreed they came to the UK because of a better quality of life and they were happy with their new lifestyle. This may be because the older age group have memories of more bad experiences in the past, or that they have made a joint family decision to migrate based on more than economic factors, or even that they have come to this country with a more positive outlook, determined to do what they think is best for themselves and their families.

The significance of belonging to a family unit is also evident. Some of the participants have made a conscious decision to come to the UK to join family already here; this is mainly in a supportive role to be with adult children or grandchildren. They are not coming as dependents, but as individuals able to support themselves financially. Grandparents are determined to maintain a relationship with their grandchildren and are prepared to migrate in order to do so. However, not all are in a position to leave Poland and some thought should be given to the impact on those left behind. Some of the elderly parents left behind have been deeply affected by their children's migration; this gives another perspective on the emotional costs of migration. The sense of loss felt by these elderly parents may also be experienced by families where the husband or wife has migrated to find work, and left the rest of the family in Poland; sometimes such separations can be for months or even years. Despite such families being reunited eventually, there can never be any replacement for the lost family time. This may affect family relationships in the future as the burden of additional responsibilities may cause resentment, even though the migration decision has been made to benefit the family.

Such migration decisions have been based on better opportunities and have been shaped by these older migrants' experiences in Poland. Although they may be at different family stages, the participants have a shared background due to their age;

they all grew up in a socialist country and their adult lives were shaped by transition. Families are important to them and they see their economic value as being their contribution to their families. However, they were not able to offer the same financial support to their families as they were unable to find work in Poland; their age was a significant factor in their unemployment. Having the opportunity of work in the UK has enhanced their economic worth and allowed them to re-evaluate their life chances and those of their families.

The family experiences they have are often very similar despite some being at different family or life stages. Polish television and the Polish church feature highly in favoured activities for those with young families as well as those who migrated on their own. Both these activities may be regarded as an extension of the family structure as they seem to give participants a sense of belonging. Being valued and belonging are simple human aspirations and give identity to individuals; they can also facilitate the migration experience and it is significant that these participants are enhancing their value by working in the UK, as well as finding a community to which they can belong. This sense of belonging to an extended family may indicate that these older migrants are more inclined to settle in the UK, despite the undoubtedly strong familial links to their homeland.

Chapter 5 Language and Communication

5.1 Introduction

Arriving in a country without good language skills presents a daunting prospect, and this is especially so for the older Polish migrants who are expected to cope with a foreign language and culture as soon as they reach the UK. This chapter investigates the communication issues encountered by older migrants and questions whether these are related to age, the strategies used to overcome any language problems, as well as strategies which may be appropriate for older learners, and the implications there may be in not addressing specific areas of concern.

Language barriers appear to be greater for the Poles than for the UK's other immigrant groups, according to a policy report on Human Rights (Sumption & Somerville, 2009). Low levels of basic English skills are particularly evident in migrants working in low level employment (Anderson et al, 2006: 83). This may be because the social networks available make it acceptable for Polish people not to learn English, although the older migrants do not tend to get involved with Polish networks. Clark & Drinkwater (2008) report that Polish migrants are the ones who are least likely to speak English at home and their lack of language skills impact on their working lives. The lack of interest in developing English language capability may be partly explained by the fact that Russian was for a long time the second language taught in schools, although this may mean that third language acquisition should then be made a little easier. German has also been a language much used by Poles, particularly in the areas bordering on Germany.

There would, however, seem to be two other factors which need to be explored: one is that the Poles are economic migrants and therefore more likely to be working long hours and consequently unable to attend language classes; the other is that the cost of English language classes is too high for Polish migrants on lower end earnings. If there are language barriers encountered by Polish migrants in general, then those barriers could potentially be magnified in the older age group, where there are fewer opportunities for socialising and where confidence levels are lower. Ultimately the key area would be to look at motivation for learning a language, as it requires time and effort to apply oneself to such a task. There must consequently be a good

reason for giving up that time and making that effort, and throughout this chapter the issue of motivation will be explored.

In 1984 the Council of Europe recommended that it was important for migrants to maintain cultural links with their country of origin as this helped them to integrate into their new host country and indeed ensured their full development. This chapter demonstrates the use of modern technology and its part in maintaining these links and facilitating the migration process for older migrants. Culture and language are intertwined and being confident that these links have not been broken gives a secure foundation for exploring new cultural and linguistic spaces. It is only when people have an understanding of their own language and cultural background that they can move on to others. As can be seen in earlier chapters, some of these older migrants have experienced a feeling of exclusion in having to migrate to another country to find work. It is therefore important that they find ways of keeping in touch with their own roots, especially given that about half their life course has been spent in Poland.

5.2 English Language Skills

To recognise some of the specific difficulties encountered by older migrants with poor English language skills, it is salutary to look at Katy Gardner's (2002) study of Bengali elders in London where she describes the almost insurmountable bureaucratic hurdles the elders encounter when they need to claim benefits to which they are entitled, simply because they cannot speak much English (Gardner, 2002:159). Lack of English also prevents them from using public transport and limits their world to one small familiar space: their reasons for this lack of English being that they felt they were too old to learn, they did not have enough time, or the classes were some distance from their homes (Gardner 2002:141). It is interesting to note similarities with the Polish older learners. Hanne (61), who came to stay with her daughter in the UK and who is now retired, has a fear of travelling, which she never did in Poland, and she relates this to the language barrier. She says she used to take her young children everywhere by train and never had any problems changing trains, dealing with the luggage and the children in Poland, but now she feels very uncomfortable at the thought of travelling on her own. Like the Bengali elders, Hanne is limiting herself to a small geographical area around her daughter's

house. This would not present a problem had Hanne the language skills to integrate into her local community. However, she makes no attempt at trying to find out what is happening around her. She says her family is trying to encourage her to learn English as they have the belief that she will be able to pick up the language but, she says, "I am afraid of that. I learnt German and Polish at school and I was really good."

In her mind Hanne has built a barrier which may not exist. She is afraid of travelling and she is afraid of learning a new language. These are perceptions as she has not tried to travel on her own, nor has she made any attempt to learn English. According to Haber (2010), fearful individual may lack the confidence to change their behaviour, yet it is important to focus on overcoming perceived barriers (Haber, 2010: 146). Such barriers have a negative effect and can, as with Hanne, inhibit the ability to enjoy and gain the most from a new environment. Hanne is trapping herself into becoming dependent on her daughter, and yet in Poland she has been living an independent life where she had plenty of friends and used to do dressmaking and hairdressing to earn money.

According to the Bengali elders, their reason for not learning English was that they were too old to learn. Aneta Pawlenko (2005) looks at the factors that can influence the way people use language and finds that languages learned later in life do not have the same sensual associations as those learned in childhood: they do not evoke the same personal memories and affective reactions (Pawlenko, 2005:187). An effort is made when teachers apply the visual, auditory and kinaesthetic model of learning styles in the classroom and are encouraged to use personalised learning and individual learning plans to make the teaching more inclusive, but generally there is little information for teachers on how to approach and get the best from older learners. Bowden and Merritt (1995) find that older learners appreciate being able to see concepts in action through activities and examples and they want information that is useful to them. One successful method is being able to use the new information in small group interaction, which can then be applied in real life more readily and confidently. This is supported by Campbell (2006), who finds that older people want to learn information that is personally beneficial and the perceived barriers to intellectual capacity may be a myth. The survey carried out for this study on older and younger Polish migrants found almost no difference between the

responses to “I am too old to start learning English”, but it is interesting to note that the over forty five year olds were more likely to agree with the statement “I have no need to use English”. This would indicate that they do not see it relevant or useful to them to be able to speak English while living in Britain.

There is certainly no reason why older learners should not successfully learn a language but the context in which they learn is very important, according to Schleppegrell (1987), who contends that the greatest barrier to learning is doubt. It is this lack of confidence that comes through clearly in both learning and using English. Forty seven year old Feliks believes it would have been much easier for him to learn English if he had migrated twenty years ago, as his brain “is not the same now”. He learnt Russian at school and used that language when he was travelling around countries such as Bulgaria, Turkey and Yugoslavia and running his own trading business. Now he works in a factory with Polish people and uses only Polish at home, as he says his daughter prefers watching Polish television. His lack of confidence in learning a new language, combined with the lack of incentive for using it, is a common motif throughout this age group. Feliks admits that he might learn English if he had to do so, and if he were not with Polish people all the time.

However, even where there is an incentive, it seems that lack of confidence is still an over-riding factor. Krystyna (49), an engineer with a Master of Science degree, now working in a warehouse, says that she loves looking at all the small shops in Stony Stratford but she will not go into them because she is afraid of talking in English. She is worried that someone may say something to her and she will not be able to respond as she does not understand what they are saying. For a while Krystyna worked with English people in a warehouse dealing with a particular contract, and she became used to their accents and could actually communicate with them. However, then she went on holiday and was with Polish people all the time, and the agency placed her in another contract with Polish workers. She says: “I’m not understanding English because I’m not talking English. It’s a problem for me.”

Although Krystyna blames a lack of opportunities for using English as being the reason why her language skills are not good, she had nevertheless been using English well enough previously to be able to interact with English colleagues. Yet there are still opportunities for practising the language; she could be going into those

small shops and using her English, but she doubts her own abilities. In May 2010 I carried out an informal pilot survey of ten older Polish language learners in an English language evening class in Bedford; even though some of them felt their level of English was good, none had any confidence in using their English. A report on universities and their engagement with older learners (Phillipson & Ogg, 2010) recommends that more research is carried out on teaching older learners as learning is especially important in boosting self-confidence, enjoyment and satisfaction with life. However, the motivation for learning is different with older learners as their motivating force is one of personal interest.

If language class learning outcomes could reflect the daily needs and interests of the learners, then older learners would be able to see the relevance of the learning and be able to go and practise the language in everyday situations. In this way they would gain in confidence, and also benefit from small social interactions which would give them more satisfaction with life in Britain. Older learners may feel more anxious about learning languages and one of the ways Koba et al (2000) suggest of reducing this is by having conversation circles of fewer than ten learners as this provides security and gives a sense of involvement and equality. However, there are other factors which need to be addressed. The age of the learner is important as older learners want to have lessons designed to meet their needs and where they can see the relevance to their own daily lives. This may be happening within the classroom already but the needs of the other learners may differ from what is relevant to the older learners. Smaller classes would help but if there are mainly younger people in the group, then the teacher will be directing their lesson to the majority. Another issue in the English language classroom is the requirement to have a qualification outcome, and this may not be appropriate for this age group. The pressure of exams becomes more intense with age and there is a preconceived idea with older learners that they will not be able to remember. Consequently, they build a barrier towards assessment and are more likely not to do as well as younger learners, which again has an impact on their confidence. The conversation circles which Koba et al (2000) propose provide a more inclusive approach if they are targeting groups of older learners and not mixed groups.

The long-term implications of neglecting the language needs of older learners are highlighted in the personal barriers and limitations experienced by the Bengali elders

in London (Gardner, 2002) and the social isolation which may result in a high economic cost to the state (Nussbaum et al, 2000; Warnes et al, 2004). Communication with migrant workers is seen as a key problem: migrants cannot maximise the value of their time in the UK because of their low level language skills (Green et al, 2007) and yet the language learners surveyed gave their primary motivation for coming to the UK as being a better quality of life. Generally the older migrants do not find communication at work to be a problem, but there are more concerns about the time they spend outside the workplace. Friendships are vital to quality of life and there are more difficulties in accessing these friendships when there is no common language. It may therefore be more appropriate to consider the social rather than the economic benefits to the individual when considering ways of encouraging older learners to participate in any English language learning activities.

5.3 Communication

White's (2011: 140) study of Polish families and migration to Britain concludes that, although integration is a sequence of events and experiences, it is not a straightforward progression route, and there can even be reversals to the process. Krystyna, having felt that she could communicate with work colleagues, was beginning to feel that she was part of an English community, and to feel connected with her new environment. However, her lack of confidence and her doubts about using English have now made her into an outsider, looking in through the shop windows at what lies inside. Burrell (2008a) describes how earlier Polish migrants found their confrontations with Western consumerism exciting but overwhelming, and decidedly unsettling without English language skills. Language is an essential part of the integration process, and for Krystyna to feel happy enough to call England her home, she needs to be able to carry out daily activities in the same way as she would in Poland. Her functional language need not be at a high level, but she would improve as she practised using English.

The lack of confidence can also lead to another barrier. Julia (45) gets so stressed that she finds it hard to remember any English in class:

There is a language barrier. I have no previous experience of the language. I get stressed and I am nervous about the classes that I don't know what I am doing, but I am going to start the beginners courses again. Now I get really more stressed and it blocks me from thinking.

This has an impact on other parts of her life as well: “I was very independent in Poland, now I am dependent and I find that hard. Even when I go to the doctor, I have to take someone with me to explain and I find that embarrassing.”

Justyna (48), with a PhD in management of telecommunications, and working as an international internet project manager, was visiting friends in the UK, and would have loved to move permanently to the UK, but she doubted she would find the same level of work as she could not speak English – “I’d like to have a job where I could live a quality life”. She was very surprised that, even with her level of education, she could not learn English and found it such a huge challenge. It may be perception, rather than reality, that she cannot learn English. There have been no effective studies into the impact of mixed groups of language learners where the older learners may find their confidence drained by the vitality and energy of younger learners, but this is an area which deserves further investigation, as most English language classes do not take age into account. Potential learners are assessed by their initial starting skills and other factors are not considered, yet a recent study (Flatley, 2011) found that, although Bangladeshi and Pakistani women started at exactly the same level of English language skills, the Bangladeshi learners took twice as long to achieve the course learning outcomes. The conclusion for this was that the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis came from completely different cultural backgrounds; this has had an impact on their ability to express themselves, therefore the Bangladeshis were more reluctant to be involved in using the language, even in the classroom.

The mix of learners in the English class which Flatley (2011) observed demonstrates that cultural differences can have a big impact on motivation. As Irena comments:

I was the best in my group at College when I learnt English but my conversation wasn’t good. Everything I finished first and I was bored. I was the one European in my group, most were Asian and they didn’t understand. They didn’t know grammar, for example what an apostrophe was. I was the best student. I thought, oh my God, what are you doing here?

This is more of an issue with the older learners who tend to be living in areas where there are not large populations of Polish people. Given that the main short term resident population in the UK is Indian, followed by Chinese (ONS, 2012), it is therefore not surprising that there are many of Asian origin attending community ESOL classes. Recent statistics on ESOL learners are unavailable but a survey

carried out in 2004 showed that 22% of ESOL learners were from the Indian sub-continent (Simpson, 2007); and in 2004/5 there were over 13,000 enrolments by Polish nationals in ESOL classes (Niace, 2006). The 2011 census also indicates that there are 720,000 residents in the UK who do not speak English well, and a further 138,000 who speak no English at all. Additionally Polish is given as the most widely spoken foreign language in the UK with 546,000 Polish speakers resident in the country in March 2011, when the census was carried out. However, these Polish migrants tend to be settled more widely across the UK than other migrant groups (BBC News, 2008).

In looking at whether communication issues may be age related, it seems that overall there is no conclusive evidence that this is the case. Various factors have combined to make it more difficult for older people to learn English. There are fewer opportunities for them to use English as many are working in low level manual occupations with other Polish workers and speak only Polish at work; they have not updated their skills or qualifications to make themselves more attractive to UK employers. Leisure activities revolve around the family and limit opportunities to meet English people; when needing help, they call upon family and Polish friends. The one factor which does seem to be age related is that older people do not have the same level of confidence as the younger age group; they are not so prepared to use any language skills that they may have, and they are reluctant to join in activities requiring English. This would benefit from more research as to whether self-doubt is due to age, or whether it is inherent in the individual. Confidence is often linked to achievement, and it may be that these older migrants have not been given the opportunities to achieve in a way that would boost their confidence.

Although culture and confidence appear to be key factors in creating barriers to language learning, a similar hypothesis could be applied to age. As Schleppegrell (1987) points out, older language learners fear failure more than younger learners and this is especially relevant when applied to those who are already successful in other fields. There should be no reason at all why Justyna cannot master the English language. Her grandmother was a linguist, an interpreter for others in the community, and at one time Justyna said she could speak four languages (Polish, German, Russian and English), but now can only speak Polish.

It has been agreed that those who start learning a foreign language when young outperform those who start learning later in life (Harley & Wang, 1997). This may have much to do with practising the skills over a longer period. In general, migrants have a difficult task in having to learn and use the language at the same time (Byram, 2000: 15). Perdue (1982) suggests that the way they are perceived by others around them can lead to migrants feeling incompetent, and consequently suffering a lack of confidence. The cultural and linguistic shortcomings in migrants may be perceived as indicators of low intelligence and low communicative skills (Byram, 2000: 15), and this can have an impact on taking up opportunities for learning and practising English. As discussed, older migrants are more likely to have less confidence than younger people and therefore miss out on interactive activities which would enhance and improve their communication.

Those who do not master the English language, even when they migrate at a young age, will revert to their first language as they grow older, according to a study carried out in Australia by Thomas (2003). This reversion can then create communication problems with younger members of the family and cause difficulties in getting close to grandchildren, according to Thomas and Hallebone (1995). There are also other causes for this reversion, with many people losing their ability to speak English after a stroke or when suffering from dementia: in the case of the Japanese women growing older in Britain, Izuhara and Shibata (2001) describe how they are unable to communicate with their own children who have been brought up in the UK. On the other hand, Wheeler (2011) finds that symptoms of Alzheimer's can be delayed by four or more years in elderly bilingual adults: the chief benefit is the ability to shut out irrelevant information and focus on what is important. There are therefore advantages, not just to the individual but to society, in encouraging the acquisition of proficient language skills. Language learning should be regarded as an evolving process, rather than a programme of training. It is only by practice and usage of a language that the skills can be retained.

There does appear to be a gender divide in the way that older migrants adapt to their new surroundings. Older male migrants experience downward mobility because of their age and language whereas, although older women tend to adapt more positively in the short term, in the longer term they tend to suffer from isolation due to their lack of English language skills and the consequent paucity of independent

friendships (Thomas, 2003). The difficulty in making new friends contributes to social isolation and a poor quality of life, but Thomas and Balnaves (1993) find it can also lead to mental health problems, which in turn are exacerbated by a lack of language hindering the process of getting help. This is mirrored to some extent in Martin's (2009) study of older Iranian migrants whose limited English language skills prevent them from communicating the real symptoms and whose cultural approach to health is holistic: this means that they do not distinguish between mental and physical symptoms and the mental health can be overlooked. However, the men tend to be more prepared to adapt. Marek (49), a transport manager now working as a lorry driver, recognises that his level of English is too low to work at the level he is qualified for, but he has made the effort to find English friends and he has no problem using the language, while Michal (48) has been here for six years and, although admitting that his English is limited, he says he has: "met many wonderful people from England, Turkey, Africa and I can communicate with them".

Piotr (50) has also been in the UK for six years and he says his English is good enough to deal with everyday life as a painter and decorator, although Casmir (50) is a builder and works with both English and Polish colleagues, but he only speaks to the Polish ones and feels no need to speak English at all. It seems that many of the men have opportunities to meet English people outside work, such as in pubs, and even though their English may be very limited, they still try to socialise. Zygmunt (59) was one of the few who is actively learning English and going to classes at college –

I am in England now and I need to know English to be independent, to handle unexpected life situations. I am still not fluent but if you know English, you can communicate and live here and it is easier to get help and help others. I have to organise my free time and I relax by learning English, by watching English television, by going to the park, going to a pub or cafe, talking to people, no matter where they come from.

Another who is going to English classes is Wojciech (46) and he meets people in the pub.

I have met lots of people, too many. I work with English people, I take any job that is paid, and meet lots of different people. I have English friends and I go to English classes, as well as use English speaking to me friends and neighbours. My English is good but I do not feel it is good enough.

Jakub (45) is a truck driver and he says he is getting better with the English language as he can now make telephone calls. He does have to speak English at work, even although he works with Polish people.

Most of the women interviewed made no mention of finding English friends and were more likely to keep within a small circle of Polish speaking friends outside the home. Ewa (50) has been in Britain for five and a half years. She says: "When I came here I did not know many people here and I still do not know many people. I am not working at the moment as it is very difficult finding a job. My English is not good enough." However, it has been a different experience for Teresa (50):

My English is good enough. I have no problem with that. I work in a job packing clothes and I work with English people. My English has become better since I have been here in the last three years. I also meet English people and speak English with them outside work when I play sport. But I was lucky I learnt some English already in Poland before I came here, so I have no problems speaking English now, my English is good, and I speak with everyone in English.

This particular age group missed out on learning English in school as the foreign language available to them was Russian. They also grew up without exposure to American and English culture via the medium of music and television and consequently they do not have the same familiarity with English language as younger Polish people have. It is unusual to identify among this older age group those who did have the opportunity of learning English in Poland when they were younger. The results of the survey (Appendix) show that a higher percentage of younger migrants learnt English in Poland, which is what was anticipated. However, in a reflection of the way in which the UK has been seen as a place of employment for Polish people, Brygida was put on an English language training course through the Polish jobcentre when she could not find work in Poland.

Those who have had earlier exposure to English language have been able to progress more when they are in Britain. Michalina (56) also had English language lessons when in Poland although she feels she did not learn anything. It was only when she came to England that she made the effort to apply herself and immersed herself in the language. She was then able to find herself work and improve her prospects and now she is able to pursue a university degree. This does not always help smooth the way to seamless communication as many of the accents in different

parts of Britain are quite difficult to comprehend and Michalina has found that relating to people in Scotland has been a challenge. When asked if she was meeting a lot of people now that she was at university, she replied:

Well, that's where I am a bit disappointed. I find it's very difficult with things, I felt when I was making the decision (to go to university), I felt I would give it a year or two and I imagined I would have a bunch of friends. It's not happening.... I didn't expect to make many friends in the college where I was doing a hospitality course, I hardly understood when they talked.

Irena (47) is another one who felt that the English she learnt in Poland was not very helpful for her when she came to England. She admits that she has a barrier with English and says she does not speak as she is always thinking about her mistakes with English grammar. Her teacher was Polish and: "I make exactly the same mistakes as my teacher because it's completely different here. When I came here, I had problems with short questions because everything felt different for me. Completely different, oh my God."

Gabriela (52) did not speak a word of English when she came to Britain and she is now reaping the benefits of being able to communicate and make friends. Her determination in learning English may be partly explained by her background. Having trained as a nurse, she gave it all up to get married and look after children. Later, when she separated from her husband, she started up her own little business in Poland, opening an underwear shop. It was quite successful until supermarkets started selling cheap underwear and she had no option but to close the business. Her age then prevented her from finding more employment and it was shortly after that she came to England.

I was cleaning for an English family in London. It was funny because sometimes I could not understand what they were saying. I had to call my daughter to know what the family was asking me. They had to write down all the times etc for me, when I had to come, so it was really difficult. Now it's really funny but it wasn't then....When I came here, I went straight to College to learn English as I did not know a word and now I am very happy. I may not know English well but I worked with English people and I am very happy, I can communicate in English, sometimes I translate for friends, Polish or English....I had a very nice neighbour, she was lovely, very very friendly, speaking English with me and when I don't understand, she would explain the words in the dictionary.

It is interesting to note that in the survey questionnaire (Appendix) there was a significant difference in the way the older migrants felt that their spoken English has not improved since they came to the UK, compared with the younger group. They are not taking up the available opportunities to practise the few words they may have, nor are they making the effort to learn the language. Yet foreign language skills are of economic value to migrants (Williams, 2012: 258) and Dustmann (1999) suggests they should be regarded as language capital, for not only can they help migrants gain more professional employment, but also help returning migrants to secure jobs in international companies (McKeon, 2014; Williams, 2012:258). Further analysis of the survey results reveals that all of the migrants aged in their 30s and 40s agreed that their English had improved, which indicates that age is important in the acquisition of oral language skills. There was no difference in gender, with both men and women feeling they had enhanced their English since arriving in the UK. Those in their 50s and 60s were the ones least likely to be able to use any English language they may have acquired. This may be related to confidence as was earlier discussed, but it does indicate that language skills are defined by age.

Motivation for learning a language tends to decrease when there is a high level of immigration from one linguistic group, and also the thought of being able to return easily to the home country causes a slower rate of English learning, according to Vigdor (2009), who finds that the rate of English language learning among immigrants to America is now lower than it was a century ago (Vigdor, 2009: 92). This is despite advances in language learning techniques and the widespread use of communicative approaches, where practical skills rather than theoretical knowledge are applied. Among the older Polish migrants surveyed, sixty four per cent used English every day, the same percentage as younger migrants, but just thirty three per cent considered their English was good enough to communicate and the same number were attending language classes; the younger age group would also seem not to have much motivation for learning English as just thirty eight per cent were going to classes and trying to improve their language skills. The main area of concern is that almost all the younger age group agreed that they needed to learn English, although the numbers suggest they are not actively doing anything about this, whereas there was not the same level of agreement from the older migrants. Yet an important factor in success at learning a language rests on the length of

exposure to that language (Baker, 2011). While this may not be through formal education, it is suggested that language influences such as the street and the screen may be just as influential in providing that exposure (Baker, 2011: 124), although this is an area which has been little researched. If this is so, and there would seem to be a strong case for it being a valid argument, then the large percentage of older Polish migrants speaking only Polish at home, and watching only Polish television, may be creating a further barrier to the acquisition of English language. It is this acquisition of language which is an important marker in assimilation and older migrants, with less time in the host country, are less likely to speak English, and are most likely to use their own native language at home, and for most communicative encounters (Harris, 2011).

5.4 Strategies

The opportunities for speaking English may be limited, including for those who do have some basic language skills, but there are nevertheless many wasted opportunities. Even when in situations where they need to use the language, older migrants will find other strategies to communicate. Krystyna takes her young son with her when she has to carry out any business such as paying bills, and when she goes to the doctor or dentist, she carefully translates everything beforehand and takes her dictionary with her. She mentally prepares herself beforehand and tries to anticipate responses. Her biggest fear is when English people approach her unexpectedly and catch her unawares as she cannot understand them at all.

Brygida, who works as a hotel housekeeper, started an English course three times but never uses the language as she speaks only Polish in the workplace and at home. She says she can speak two or three sentences but does not have enough vocabulary. If there is a need to speak English, she takes her children with her. She tells them what they need to explain and has no problem with them discussing domestic issues. In her mind her child is an extension of her and can therefore speak on her behalf. However, she would love to be able to speak enough English to change her job. Almost all of the older migrants surveyed used family or friends to interpret for them when they went to a medical or dental surgery, and many of the younger age group did as well, although the older ones are more likely to use children to accompany them rather than friends.

It is common for grocery shopping to be carried out in the supermarket where there is no need to speak, and supermarkets are used by the older migrants rather than the local Polish shops. This may be because many of the older age group choose not to live in Polish community areas and therefore cannot access these specialist shops so easily. Leisure activities are often limited to walking with the family or going to the Polish church. Marek says he meets lots of people there and attends regularly, although he never went to church in Poland. In the sample survey it was found that slightly more of the older, as opposed to younger, Poles went to church once a month or more. However, two areas showing significant differences were "I speak only Polish at home" and "I prefer to watch Polish television." In both of these items the older age group were in strong agreement. White's (2011: 152) study points out that interviewees complained of not having time to practise English outside the classroom, and yet they admitted that they watched Polish television in the evenings when they could have spent some time listening to English programmes. In many cases no attempt is made to watch English television or to see it as an opportunity to learn some English. Zachariasz (45) says: "I do not speak English well enough to find a good job. I work with Polish people and we speak Polish. I speak only Polish, I watch Polish television. What else can I do? I do not speak English."

Krystyna describes how her children had problems with speaking English at school. Her two boys were aged fifteen and seventeen when they came to England but in the two years they have been in the country, they have not used English at home. Her husband says the reason they do not watch English television is because their young daughter likes watching Polish television.

My daughter was just six years old, she had not started school. We went together to the school but she did not speak English and it was really difficult for the teachers in the beginning. It was a stressful time for her as she had a stomach ache every morning and in the car she was sick. She could not understand anyone around her....The middle son meets up with English friends and he has no problems with English now....The eldest son has only Polish friends, his accent is different and he is not so fluent.

The missed opportunity of watching English television may have a deeper impact on the children of these older migrants, however, as they are not able to embrace a shared culture with their peers.

Alazzi & Chiodo (2006) carried out a study on Middle Eastern university students and found that they experienced social isolation due to a lack of contact with nationals and they were often lonely. However, although those who had prior travel experience to other countries and those with language proficiency were more adept at making contact with others, they all saw themselves as guests in the host country and therefore made little effort to adapt. It may be that the Polish migrants do not perceive themselves as permanent residents, although those interviewed who had families stated that they intended staying in the UK as they saw more opportunities for their children. They focused more on the benefits to their children rather than benefits to themselves.

Phillipson & Ogg (2010) stress that learning improves the quality of life as it provides social networks and tackles inequality. Their report highlights the role of education in dealing with social exclusion and they give examples of intergenerational learning on an informal basis at the University of Valencia under a programme called NUGRAN, which links older learners with younger ones and promotes interaction and communication between the groups. They also point to the University of Pittsburgh which has a programme whereby retired engineers mentor students, where one of the main factors was the support foreign students gained in adapting to a new culture. The report concludes that investment in education relating to older learners is likely to have major benefits for both individuals and society and that it will mean that older people remain economically and socially engaged. Withall (2000) does not agree with the education aspect and feels that more stress should be placed on learning within a life course perspective. This would serve to give meaning to the experiences of older people and make them feel that these experiences were valued. In terms of language learning this could be to ensure the relevance of the language classes to their lives, and to elicit these experiences through activities which have meaning for older people.

Given that research shows it takes between two and five years to acquire basic oral English skills (Hakuta et al, 2000), this may seem daunting to Polish learners who have not been exposed to English culture in the way that younger people have. However, the one advantage that they do have is that they are in an English-speaking country. Too much emphasis seems to be placed on classroom-based learning, when other strategies could be put in place, which did not require the same

formal approach. An experiment in Nottingham in 2004 to engage Pakistani women was to run a weekly English language session on the local community radio and set tasks which were designed to get the women using the language immediately. This resulted in a number of women having the confidence to sign up for local classes and positive feedback from users. There are signs that Polish people would like to be able to integrate; half of the older migrants surveyed agreed that they spoke to their English neighbours. Irena (47), when asked, says: "There's the one next door, and across the road, and over there, I like my friends here and I speak short answers, short questions. Sometimes we talk about my flowers, my car, the weather. We gossip."

The strategies being used to overcome language issues are short-term and raise barriers preventing full integration in the new country. They do not allow social interaction and the building of a social network, and they are limiting the opportunities to enjoy the quality of life in the UK. Window shopping on one's own does not stimulate the senses in the way that touching, comparing, discussing, and smelling do. The affective reactions which Pawlenko (2005) attributes to learning languages at an early age may be replicated to a certain extent by making more use of the methods used for young learners, where older learners are encouraged to feel, taste, listen to music, speak without fear of making mistakes, experience the environment surrounding them. However, this would require specialist training for language teachers and would also be best served by classes targeting small groups of older learners. In the present economic climate, this is unlikely to become a reality as these groups are not seen as a priority by funding agents and the learners themselves are generally not in a position to be able to afford the cost of such classes. Vigdor (2009: 92, 99) makes the point that English language learning is seen as an investment, and the returns on this investment decline with age; consequently the older the learner, the fewer years he or she will have to realise a return on that investment. The benefits of learning a language are linked to the economic advantage of being able to communicate in that language, and generally in the UK the Polish migrants have not found it difficult finding employment which is better-paid than in Poland, and consequently there has been no pressure on them to be able to use English.

The teaching environment in community ESOL provision targets a diverse population. When teaching English in a foreign country, the teacher is confronted with a monolingual group who can be supportive of each other and who have a common cultural understanding. In Britain there are many learners of English coming from a wide range of backgrounds and a teacher may have a mix of ten or more different nationalities in the class. With young learners this is not such a problem as they adapt more easily and they have the confidence to take what they want from a lesson. However, with older learners the lack of confidence they have in themselves means they do not express their needs and are more likely to give up the class. As Krystyna says: "I have knowledge in my head" but she cannot use the language.

5.5 Social Engagement

With many migrants from Eastern Europe there has been a language problem. This has led to two major issues: one is that they are not able to find work at the level of their qualifications or experience; the second is that they tend to stay in areas where there are others speaking the same language (Ryan et al, 2009b: 155; Danford, 2008). In some areas the Poles have been exploited by businesses paying less than the minimum wage (Danford, 2008). However, this must be put into perspective when the investigations by Feldmann (2004) and Bhat (2007) are considered and the low level of skilled labour plus the amount of time spent on retraining are measured. Krings et al (2009) have found that the longer migrants stay, the more they become immersed in social networks in the host country, they make new friends, and they become more proficient in English. Cook et al (2011) also find that those with some English language skills are more able to negotiate better employment opportunities for themselves. However, this was not so evident with the older migrants. Many had already been in the UK for five years or longer and they were not becoming more proficient in English. The length of time they have been in the UK seems to have had little impact on their proficiency. The defining factor relates to age; those in their 50s and 60s were less likely to have improved their language skills. This was taking into account their age at arrival and their family situation. As discussed earlier, this may be due to the amount of time they have spent in social activities such as watching Polish television and speaking Polish at home and at work.

As Sumption et al (2009) point out, language barriers appear to be greater for the Eastern Europeans than for other migrant groups in the UK. This may be because, with the large numbers of migrants from Poland, any newcomers can always find a social network and there is consequently no need to integrate nor speak any other language. Sumption et al (2009) also found that after two years in the UK about twenty five per cent spent no time with British people at all. With the older migrants who were surveyed, this picture was not quite as bleak: about fifty per cent of the older migrants made an effort to speak to English neighbours or socialise with English people. Nevertheless, this still leaves a large proportion of migrants who do not communicate in English, although they are living in an English speaking country. ESOL (English as a Second or Other Language) language training seems to be high on the agenda for any initiatives involving equity of opportunities for Eastern Europeans, and it is also high on recommendations in studies of migrants. The main motivation for migration for young Poles has always been stated as earning money and learning English. Yet Glossop et al (2009) find that it is only worth investing in ESOL for the higher skill level as the lower level ones working in factories or in agriculture are always with their own compatriots and are short-term migrants. Some employers provide ESOL classes for shift workers as it is difficult for them to access mainstream courses, but it has become commonplace for other strategies to be put in place. Businesses often employ Polish shift managers with good language skills to act as intermediaries. One of the largest employers, Tesco, uses recruitment agencies to provide Eastern European shift workers and they have Polish or Slovakian managers to communicate and liaise between workers and management. However, Tesco also puts pressure on their agencies to ensure all workers can achieve a basic level English test before being allowed to work.

The higher skill levels need to have access to flexible ESOL provision as the more professional jobs require good functional skills and this is where Polish workers can be at a disadvantage. However, government policy has shifted and no longer gives access to free ESOL classes. It therefore becomes much more difficult for Polish migrants to afford the cost of language classes, which in 2012 were averaging £5 per hour. In addition, those with higher skills are often not able to take time off to attend classes. Businesses have also cut back on paying for classes on site, as they do not

see a need for developing personal skills, especially when it may mean the workers moving on to better jobs. Communication with migrant workers is, however, seen as a key problem from a business perspective and the Eastern Europeans cannot maximise the value of their time in the UK because of their low levels of English language skills (Green et al, 2007). Communication is a major problem in other areas such as health services and policing and the cost of interpreting has risen dramatically. In 2006/2007 it cost the police £14million to provide interpreters in London, and this was mainly due to EU expansion (Cheshire Police, 2008). The costs of providing statutory services to those with poor English skills adds to costs indirectly as the time spent on dealing with such cases is always longer when communication is an issue.

Although ESOL classes are often recommendations in studies and reports on migrant workers, it is recognised that shift work taken on by many Polish manual workers makes it difficult to attend classes regularly. White (2011) also made similar observations that Poles were not able to attend the intensive daytime classes which were provided locally. It is also suggested above that improving language skills may be of benefit only to those coming from a higher skills level. This has been made more difficult for Polish migrants as ESOL classes are no longer fully funded by the government unless the recipients are on benefits. It has consequently become more difficult for migrants trying to access an English language course. Current government policy has cut back on the funding available and the only free places are for those actively seeking work and signing on for unemployment benefits. This has had more of an impact on the Polish learners as they are usually already working, albeit in low paid employment. Consequently the fees for learning English are now too high for many who previously attended classes. Szymon (62) says: "I am going to English classes because I need to use English every day but English lessons are expensive."

Most of the older Polish migrants are working and therefore they have to pay the full price for ESOL classes. As many are in low paid jobs, this is not an option for them and they are not, therefore, able to afford to access the English language classes which could help them improve their own prospects. However, they could contribute more to the economy if their language skills matched their existing qualifications. A

report by Stewart (2011: 176) suggests, for example, that the Polish care workers could take on positions of responsibility as managers in the care sector as they have better leadership qualities. Yet to achieve this, they would need to improve their communication skills.

Strategies for supporting these migrants in integrating into their new community may need to be thought through very carefully. Language learning in a classroom may not be the best approach for older learners, who need to have their self-doubts about their ability to learn questioned and repudiated through practical application of the language. The level of communication attained by learners tends to match their required needs and, if they can get by with the bare minimum of English language, then they will never see any further benefits in learning more. Whilst the Polish migrants may be able to cope on a day to day basis with very little English language knowledge, the indigenous population is more likely to perceive poor language skills as a disinterest in becoming part of a community. This then creates a further barrier in developing relationships and social cohesion.

Bearing in mind the implications and costs for both the individual and society, there would seem to be an argument for considering creative ways of improving the language skills and ultimately the quality of life of older migrants. This may be in encouraging more mentoring to take place between retired volunteers as in Pittsburgh, or in educating English employers in the long-term benefits of ensuring that English is spoken in the workplace and that their workforce is not all from one ethnic background.

Older migrants with professional occupations usually do not have the language proficiency to match their level of occupational competence, and are consequently more reluctant to migrate unless they have no opportunities of finding suitable work in Poland. The challenge is that there is very low participation of continuing education in Poland and figures from 2006 showed that people in the age group of forty-five plus represented only eight per cent of the already low figure for participants in continuing education (CEDEFOP, 2011: 37). A study carried out by BKL (2012) finds that Poles stop learning or training around the age of forty as they “consider themselves too old to learn”. Consequently, the older age group working in

professional occupations do not have a culture of self-development, and are therefore not likely to take up language training to overcome proficiency barriers.

Interestingly, Bloemen (2012) finds that age at migration is a more important determinant of job satisfaction than language proficiency; the higher the age at migration, the lower the satisfaction with wage and work type. Bloemen (2012) suggests this may be because older migrants have already built up a work history in their own country and this may lose its value when they migrate, or that older migrants have too high expectations. However, language proficiency means that migrants can perform their job better (Bloemen, 2012), whatever their age. This, however, seemed to be in contradiction with the findings of this study, where interviewees were satisfied with their work and their wages, and compared these in a favourable way with what they had in Poland. The older migrants were generally using strategies to ensure that language proficiency did not impede their job performance or satisfaction. Irena (47), who wanted to be a nurse but whose language skills were not good enough, had still taken on voluntary care assistant work and joined an English language class in order to achieve her ambition.

The focus of public policy has been on young people migrating, but the numbers of older migrants will continue to increase and this has wide implications for health and social welfare policies and provision (Warnes et al, 2004). It is a negative attitude towards older migrants which has resulted in little research being carried out into their particular needs in the host country

At a time when they can still contribute both economically and socially to their new community, they are not being encouraged to integrate. It has been seen that the older Polish migrants do not participate in the social networks available to younger migrants, and in many cases want to create a distance between themselves and the younger generation. Irena (47) says: "Sometimes I feel wrong here because of the Polish people here. They shame me. Sometimes they shame me, when I hear about these Polish people who are impolite."

The survey (Appendix) showed that a higher percentage of older migrants agreed that they had English friends than in the younger group. This shows that the younger migrants still keep their Polish networks, whereas the older ones are more prepared to make an effort to try and integrate, despite their lack of English. As with Irena, who

identifies her neighbours as her friends, there may be no depth to the conversations which take place. They may not be able to communicate at a good level, yet they still feel more of an affinity with the English people around them than with their fellow countrymen. This is in contrast to the research carried out by Heath, McGhee and Trevena (2011) who found that so-called frontiering practices, whereby migrants interact with the host society, mainly involved Poles connecting with other Poles, rather than with British nationals. There seems to be more conscious effort on the part of these older migrants to make a place for themselves in the new culture. They may be considering their integration as a strategy for supporting their children but it is not only older migrants with school-age children who are adopting this strategy. It is therefore more likely that their age has much to do with this; perhaps they have grown up in a society which values its neighbours, or they have more understanding of community cohesion and the need to live among others, despite cultural differences. Age can bring more perspective as past experiences can inform, and it may be that being older when migrating provides a more relaxed attitude and acceptance of situations.

However, the level of their language skills does present a problem, especially for the future. People are living longer and, according to European reports (Civitas, 2009) the percentage of the population over sixty five will increase from sixteen per cent in 2005 to more than twenty six per cent by 2050. They are being asked to work more years before they retire and their access to services may be limited because of their lack of language skills. This may lead to older migrants being socially more isolated and consequently more inclined to depression and mental illness, notwithstanding the potential costs of healthcare to the host country. Ryan et al (2009b) give an example of 48 year old Bernard who migrated to join his two sons in London following the break-up of his marriage: after more than two years he was still completely reliant on his sons for information and support, he had not met any new friends or even the neighbours and was completely alienated from UK society. Malgorzata, aged 57, has lived in London for several years but avoids all contact with anyone who is not Polish due to her lack of English language skills (Ryan et al, 2009b).

Communication and social engagement are closely linked and Nussbaum et al (2000) emphasise that there needs to be a consistency of communicative behaviours

over one's lifespan which can be disrupted when people migrate as that consistency cannot be maintained. People may have had friendships and joined clubs to meet others in their own country, but when they migrate to a country where there are few opportunities to integrate due to a lack of language, they are not replicating the social and communicative behaviours familiar to them. Adapting to a new country in later life is easier if an individual can find some common experiences to link him or her to new acquaintances (Nussbaum et al, 2000). In the case of the Poles this is made more of a challenge as many of them are working in occupations outside their training and background. Consequently, even in the workplace without language taken into account, there are limitations to them being able to form the friendships which could enable them to establish the relationships central to their future quality of life. Age must also be taken into consideration. As Twenge et al's (2010) study on the attitudes of different generations discovered, older people have always relied on jobs to provide them with the opportunity for making friends: younger people are possibly more used to technology for making friends and keeping in contact outside the workplace but the work environment has always contributed to friendships for the so-called baby boomers.

Without these social relationships loneliness is more likely and this is associated with health issues. Yang & Victor (2011) put forward the theory that increased loneliness in old age may be caused by political and economic changes in people's lives which reflect on the way they perceive others around them so that they find it hard to establish friendships. If this is so, then it may be more than language issues which need to be addressed when trying to integrate the Polish migrants into an English community.

The factors related to age which impact most on learning a second language appear to be the learning opportunities, the motivation to learn, individual differences, learning styles and the quality and quantity of instruction, according to Bista (2009). This would imply that not enough importance is being placed on using strategies to engage with older learners. As Stevens (2012:244) finds, age does matter in language acquisition, but there are many variables and it is difficult to disentangle these in order to gain a clear picture of how age affects learning a second language. Stevens (2012: 244) suggests that those less successful in language learning may

be the ones who return to their homelands; this would indicate a feeling of failure on their part and could impact on their future wellbeing, both mental and financial.

It is interesting to note a study of Pakistani women which showed that, although the migrant women were well educated and in professional jobs in their own country, when they migrated to the UK they were unable to find work (Rodriguez, 2007). This was despite the fact that their English was good. Their husbands found work more readily even although their level of English was quite poor. The study concluded that it was the perceived fluency in English that hindered these women: they considered that they were not very good; they had no confidence in themselves. The work they eventually managed to find was at a low manual level. This study goes against the findings of others who claim that English language proficiency is the way to success. It would seem to be that confidence is lacking in women and this may lead to migrant women not being able to take up opportunities available to them. Given that older migrants are often less confident in themselves, poor language skills are likely to have a greater impact on older migrant women. Julia (45) says: "I have a big language barrier. I get stressed and I am nervous about the classes that I don't know what I am doing. I get really more stressed and it blocks me from thinking."

The perception that their language proficiency is low results in a loss of confidence. Irena (47) wants desperately to work again as a nurse, but she does not have the confidence to use her language skills. "I avoid people, I'm not sure if my English is good. I never improve my English. I stay at home, but when I want to work because my English is weak, I can't improve." However, Irena carried out her interview wholly in English and showed herself more than capable of holding a conversation. This lack of confidence can result in women not taking up opportunities when they are available, and making it more difficult for them to settle. Ewa (50) has been in the UK for nearly six years, she has made no friends and she confessed to being "afraid, very anxious about coming here". That fear has impacted her confidence over the years and she stays at home all day, very unhappy but resigned to staying in the UK as she has nothing left in Poland.

There have been a number of studies in Australia looking at the particular problems associated with migrant women, especially those whose first language is not English. These have found that women find it more difficult to adapt to cultural changes as

they are often isolated with husbands at work, children at school and a low level of education making it hard for them to get involved, while even those who do find work come home in the evening to look after a family and consequently have neither the time nor the energy to try and improve their English language skills or socialise (Australian Government, 2008). Measures have been put in place to try and deal with some of these issues but the Australian government tends to view migration as more long-term than the current view of the UK government where Eastern Europeans are not expected to be planning a future in this country. Public perception of migrants may well have been different had they been seen as a resource and valuable asset to the UK, instead of transient workers or economic migrants.

5.6 Digital Communication

It is also worth considering the need for social engagement in the host country, when social relationships can still be maintained with friends and family in Poland. New technologies have certainly changed the ways in which people are able to communicate. In his study of telephone cards and mobile phones, Vertovec (2004) notes that these communication tools are what keeps families and friends together when separated by space and that they provide a very important role in the lives of transnational migrants. However, these are not always without their own problems as Panagakos et al (2006) reflect, suggesting that when people cannot be accessible on their phones, it can create unnecessary worry. It is also argued that this close contact with friends and families back home may even be detrimental to migrants being able to form relationships with people around them in their current location and that time spent in contact with those at a distance means they have fewer opportunities for physical human interaction within the new environment (Panagakos et al, 2006). The lived experience may become secondary to a virtual reality. There is no doubt that the availability of Skype has changed the way people can communicate as they are now able to see each other and the aural interaction through telephones has changed to visual inclusion, whereby whole families can interact at the same time. This has now become more like face-to-face interaction and it lessens the divide.

Although it is argued that access to information communication technology tends to be dominated by the young (Panagakos et al, 2006), older migrants are equally as adept at using technology such as Skype if it means they can keep in touch with their

family in another country. As this study demonstrates, with the older migrants there has not been such a dependence on social networks accessed more readily by younger migrants, as they tend to try and dissociate themselves from their fellow countrymen in the UK. When they have families, they focus on family life and their concession to networking is more digital as they watch Polish television at home, use the internet, and keep in touch with family and friends through email and mobile phones. There are consequently signs that older migrants may in this way be cutting themselves off from social interaction with their neighbours.

Bacigalupe et al (2011) investigate the impact of widespread access to ICT on transnational family relationships and suggest that it puts a new perspective on acculturation, and that more emphasis should be placed on lives being lived in two countries at the same time. The older migrants have embraced these new technologies and been able to maintain their connections with families separated by distance. These connections enable a closeness (Vertovec, 2004) that creates a feeling that loved ones are present (Alonso et al, 2010; Estevez, 2009), despite being in different geographic spaces.

In the narratives of these older migrants it can be seen that there are emotional costs to moving countries. In being able to keep in contact with those left behind in the homeland, it enables migrants to draw upon necessary emotional support (Baldassar, 2007). The social networks which make the migration journey easier for those moving countries can also work in reverse, especially for the older migrants who tend to rely more on familial connections. It can be seen, however, that this may not always be supportive and Ryan (2004) argues that such family networks can be a source of stress. Irena (47), who gave up her job as a nursing sister and left her sick mother to be cared for by her sibling, in order to be with her husband and children in the UK, is put under extreme pressure by having accessible communication links to her family in Poland. She is trying to live two lives at the same time across geographic, temporal, cultural, and emotional divides. There is no way to separate herself from the demands of the family in Poland or the family in the UK. Although technology now allows for regular and affordable communication (Horst, 2006), it can also have a negative impact. This is further illustrated in Ryan et al's (2009a) study where Hanna, a woman in her 40s, describes herself as being torn between the two parts of her family divided by geographic space. Hanna gains

information about her family in Poland through regular telephone calls, but this serves in some ways to make her feel the loss even more. Such accessible communication intrudes on the day-to-day lives people are leading and does not allow them to escape from the negative stress of distant problems.

In his study of Filipino seafarers, Galam (2012) argues that mobile phone communication between husbands at sea and their families at home becomes a “space of imagined communion” which, whilst enabling the absent to be present, also includes both positive and negative aspects. The use of the mobile phones creates a space for the absent one and can reinforce family relationships (Galam, 2012), but it can also introduce tension and stress as insignificant events relayed digitally may be imagined as more important than they really are. Additionally, the perception that home is already present in a virtual space may reduce the need for a sense of belonging in the lived experience.

Access to communication tools has impacted the modern migration journey but, for some of the older migrants, such access is shown to be a barrier rather than a support. Guilt at leaving elderly, sick parents in Poland is compounded for Irena, Michal and Krystyna by having affordable and accessible communication. Michal (48) calls family and friends every week. This is his lifeline and he maintains contact through his mobile phone. Krystyna (49) speaks with her mother every day for 60 minutes free of charge, and Irena (47) is in constant touch by both phone and internet. Their two worlds are ever-present and this does not allow them to negotiate ways in which they can manage either of them.

Robila (2010) acknowledges the advances of modern technology and, although she focuses on the way these advances can help minimise difficulties in communication between spouses, it can still be seen that technology serves to keep extended families in closer relationships. Hanne is now responsible for another grand-daughter in Poland and cannot walk away from those responsibilities, so in the meantime she takes full advantage of using Skype to keep in touch with grandchildren. Hanne would love to move permanently to the UK to be with her daughter’s family but until her grand-daughter has finished secondary school, she cannot do so. In the meantime she has become adept at using Polish Facebook and the internet, and she keeps in touch not only with her daughter in England, but also friends in America.

The use of electronic communications allows families to stay in touch if they have strong ties and shared narratives (Settles, 2001), and this keeps options open for the future.

Skype, emails and mobile phones are used extensively by older migrants and keep the channels of communication open so that relationships can be sustained, yet it is worth considering whether this constant access is always beneficial. There may also be a negative effect. Irena's feelings of guilt are likely to be magnified as she contacts her sister and ponders upon her own inability to nurse her sick mother. Instead of committing themselves to life in a new country, some migrants may find themselves reflecting on the more positive aspects of their lives in their homeland. This is likely to be reinforced by transnational conversations about familiar places and people. Lives may be connected by communication flow but, as Ros (2010: 34) argues, the negative effects of the combination of distance and frequent contact need to be explored and analysed.

With the older migrants it can be seen that there is evidence of digital networking as the primary means of linking lives back to Poland; they watch Polish television, use the internet, write emails to family and friends, use Skype, and make regular telephone calls. It has enabled them to maintain contact with their cultural heritage and has also been a factor in helping them to settle into their new environment. There was little evidence of loneliness on the part of these older migrants and this digital contact may have contributed to the feeling of satisfaction with their surroundings. However, such "electronic family" networks may also discourage the need to communicate in English and socialise with English communities. The familiar Polish networks are still available and may prove to be irresistible in creating virtual social spaces which enhance their lives, thus providing a further barrier to developing English language skills.

As English will always be a foreign language to the Polish migrants, it reinforces their feeling of otherness and alienates them from acceptance in the host country. Rabikowska (2010) argues that migrants' lives are signified by otherness and consequently they will never be able to achieve the state of normalcy they are seeking. Despite their best intentions in trying to make a new home for themselves, they will always be different from the indigenous population. This may be a factor in

maintaining the electronic contact with friends and family in Poland, where they feel stronger links than to their neighbours and contacts in the UK. The social divide is not just the English language but the background of shared culture. Migrants feel different because they are members of a minority (Rabikowska, 2010), but by continuing to interact and connect on a daily basis with their homeland, they are establishing their social identity. This is especially important for the older migrants as so much of their life course has been invested in Poland. They may be trying to create a new home in the UK, but change is not something which can happen overnight. Although they are less likely to be socialising with other Polish migrants in the UK, they are no more likely to socialise with English people. That is where the digital communication becomes so significant in their lives, as they rely on this for social interactions.

Rabikowska (2011) describes how Polish migrants in London buy Polish food that is not even in demand in Poland, but which nevertheless gives them a feeling of familiarity and a common past. The use of digital technology such as Polish television, smart phones, email and Skype all serve to reinforce links with familiar connections; the common past in the lives of the older migrants is reignited through digital communication. Age is not a barrier to using new technology; those aged over sixty were just as competent at communicating via Skype as those in their forties. However, age may be a factor in the dependence on such technology for maintaining communicative interactions; older migrants do not appear to have the opportunities or incentive for improving their English language skills and making new friends in the indigenous community. Additionally, because of their age, they have invested too much of their lives in their Polish culture and identity and it is more difficult for them to adapt. Although they have moved into English neighbourhoods, and appear to have integrated well, their language skills do not allow them to exchange more than conventional social niceties with English neighbours; consequently they must turn to digital communication for more meaningful interactions.

The age factor may also prove to be an issue if they depend too much on virtual living. From their stories, many of the older migrants are in constant communication with parents in Poland. This means that they are not using the time they have in the UK to interact and form new social relationships within the host community. There

may come a time when the Polish links are no longer available, when elderly parents may have died, or when friends may have moved on, and the older migrants are left without that digital support. The opportunities for making new friends in local communities and for learning English may then have diminished; this could consequently make it more difficult for these older migrants to benefit from the social interactions which would provide them with the quality of life they expect from their migratory experience.

5.7 Summary and Conclusion

Older migrants are not accessing English language classes to any great extent, and barriers to learning the language include lack of opportunities as well as lack of confidence, which appears to be related to their age. They could gain much by attending classes as they would learn not just the language, but also the culture of the country; it would also give a chance to socialise. The participants use various strategies to compensate for their lack of English language skills, including utilising friends and family when they need to seek professional advice. Although they have acquired strategies to manage their lack of language abilities, some of the participants do recognise that they are missing out on simple life-enhancing experiences. The description of one participant window-shopping and being afraid to enter the shop as she could not communicate in English presents a wider image of these older migrants being on the outside and not able to explore the delights inside. Without language skills they are not able to participate fully in the diverse range of activities and experiences available to them in the UK; they become spectators rather than allowing themselves to become actively involved. It means that they may miss out on small but important ways of improving their lives in the new country.

At home the older migrants tend to watch Polish television and use digital technology as a means of communication with families and friend in Poland; this creates further barriers in English language acquisition. However, the main source of concern is that so many do not see any need to learn English. There is no culture of learning for those over forty years old in Poland and they have never been encouraged to take up learning opportunities. Because of their age, it may be more difficult for these

migrants to feel the need for English proficiency, and to change their mind-set towards learning, but unless they do they are limiting their opportunities. Although many have expressed satisfaction with the work they are doing, they could do better if they had language skills; management jobs and promotion could be more readily available. If they are looking at settling in the UK, then some of these participants may have up to twenty years of productive working life left. While they may be happy in the short-term to take jobs which do not challenge them, this may not continue to be the case in the future. Working for years in an undemanding job and watching colleagues get better paid and more interesting jobs may be demotivating in the long-term. That can affect psychological well-being.

While the female participants in their forties confessed to finding English language learning stressful and challenging, some of the male participants in their forties, fifties and sixties were attending classes. The incentive for learning languages may be gender-related rather than age-related. There is no reason why anyone over the age of forty should not be able to acquire new language skills, but it seems that men are more prepared to learn. This may be because men have more confidence than women, or because their roles are not so home-dominated. However, not all men see the benefits of learning a language and some are quite content to create their own Polish environment while living in English surroundings.

Age is a contributing factor to the perception that there is no need for learning English, as the participants are firmly rooted in their Polish background; so much of their life course has been invested in their homeland. This may be one of the reasons why they maintain regular virtual communication links with family and friends in Poland, whilst not valuing the same level of social interaction within their local community. It is a positive sign that they are able to keep in touch with friends and family, but it also means that they are trying to live their lives in two different geographical spaces. The importance of learning English will not be a priority for them while they can still inhabit their Polish-speaking world.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

There were three main aims for this study, all with an overarching objective of exploring the links between age and migration. The aims were to investigate the specific issues faced by older migrants moving to a new country with a different language and culture, and their lived experience in the UK; to explore common backgrounds and motivations for migrating, and the differences within this age group; and to investigate the significance of the age factor and life-course in their migration experience. This chapter discusses these research aims and the resultant findings. It reflects on whether the arbitrary cut-off point of 45 has been useful in identifying the relevance of age to the migration experience, and what contribution this has made to an understanding of older working-age migrants.

This study was originally proposed when it was discovered that a substantial number of older people were migrating, despite perceptions that migration was only for younger people. This phenomenon of older migrants was not a modern phenomenon, as further research disclosed that migrant ship manifests uncover a similar story in the nineteenth century (McKeon, 2008; National Archives; Archives New Zealand). It was thought that these older migrants were accompanying younger members of the family, but there was no evidence of this. Instead it seemed that they were independent and could be classified as economic migrants, migrating for a better life. Literature had recognised and identified older economic migrants as being younger migrants growing old in the host country, but there was little research on people starting their migration journey when they were older.

It was then necessary to identify an age at which these migrants might be termed as older; this was not to categorise them as being old, simply that they were being identified as older than those who migrated in their 20s and 30s. They still needed to be regarded as economic migrants, therefore the age delineation could not be set too high. Government censuses were already using the age of 45 plus as being a

specific age range for immigration statistics, and there was therefore data available to support this age grouping, which was why the age of 45 was chosen as the point at which these migrants might be put into an older category. The participants in this study may be classified as middle-aged but, in terms of migration, they are within an older age range than the majority of economic migrants to the UK.

7.2 Specific Issues

One of the main issues encountered by these older migrants related to family relationships where they were caught between the needs of two generations. Many felt guilty at leaving elderly parents, and the worries they had about their parents often encroached into their daily lives in the UK. They were not able to relax and enjoy their new home, as they were constantly on Skype or mobile phone to talk to parents, or else they were thinking and worrying about them. This even had an impact on their spousal relationships as holidays were arranged to visit parents in Poland, and husbands and wives did not have time together to relax. Women were particularly affected and took on the main burden of guilt, even though they were aware that they were supporting parents financially. Given the age of these migrants, it can be expected that their parents will mainly be in their 70s and 80s, which tends to make the issue particularly relevant to older migrants; elderly parents are more likely to suffer health problems and consequently place more emotional stress on them. This could then become a factor in the development of mental health issues on the part of older migrants in the future.

Parents who were visiting their adult children who had migrated to the UK also expressed a deep sense of loss and regret that their children had been forced to leave their own homeland and culture. They felt that everything they had worked for was of no value, and they had been unable to provide for their families. This was especially felt by those who came from more professional backgrounds, or who had been successful in their own careers. Their worth was therefore being questioned and they had been found wanting. For most of their lives they had been working to benefit their children, but it had not been enough. It must ultimately have a psychological effect on them as they re-evaluate their lives. The perception that the link between them and their children has now been weakened is reinforced by their

age, as they undoubtedly feel they can no longer protect and support their adult children in the way they had expected.

Migration has been a traumatic experience for many; both men and women expressed shock at having to leave their country at their age. Some said they had not settled well at all, and there are some indications that they were suffering from a mild form of depressive illness. This was more evident in women than men; there was more reluctance on the part of some women to come to the UK in the first place, and then they confessed they had not met many people after five or six years in the country, or they tried to avoid people. Men tended to focus more on the economic benefits of migration, whereas the women were more emotional about the sacrifices they had made in leaving Poland. Although some expressed a wish to go back to live in Poland at some stage, there were also others who were unhappy with their lives in the UK, but felt there was nothing left for them in Poland any more. This rejection of their homeland perhaps disguises the hurt they feel at the way they perceive they have been treated by their country. It is an unresolved issue and this may manifest itself in other ways in the future; the damage this may cause could have implications for the psychological well-being of these individuals. Their lives have been defined by their Polish identity, it is deeply entrenched in them, and now there is nothing left for them in their homeland. This issue is very much related to their age; they could no longer find work there to support themselves and their families due to age discrimination in Poland.

7.3 Shared Backgrounds

A central motif throughout was this inability to find work in Poland as the main motivator for migration. Because of their age, they had been replaced in the workplace by younger, better educated and better qualified employees. Once they became unemployed, they found it much more difficult to get back into work; any work available was likely to be low-paid and temporary. This was difficult for them to comprehend as they had always been protected under the socialist regime in which they grew up; the transitional period occurred when most of these older migrants were young adults and many of them incurred debts which also became a significant motivator for their later migration.

Although their migratory experiences may have been different, these shared backgrounds highlight the motivating forces for this older age group. Because of their past experiences, their age has been the defining factor in looking for better opportunities for their children and for themselves outside Poland. They felt that life could improve if they migrated.

This common background has also meant that most of these older migrants have had limited exposure to the English language. Russian was their second language at school, and they did not have access to the media now available to young people. Now that they are in the UK most of them are not attempting to improve their English skills. They say they do not need English, but this may well be a way of hiding their fear of failure, which is often a reason for not developing new skills. It may also be a reflection on the provision of English classes aimed at newcomers; costs may be too high for those struggling to find a place for themselves in a new community and approaches may not be relevant to this age group or ethnic background. This lack of English impedes their interaction with neighbours and prevents them from developing more meaningful relationships within their local community, which may have an impact on their quality of life in the future. Their current dependence on digital communication and virtual social interactions with friends and family in Poland may become a barrier to integration.

7.4 Life-Course Trajectory

The similarities and differences between the migratory experiences in the UK of these migrants are not always related to their family life stage as both young families and older singles often had similar approaches. They may be exposed to the new society in different ways due to their family situation, but they are linked through their opportunities for finding work and being able to improve their lives. It is important to them at this stage in their lives that they can still contribute and that they are valued for that contribution. Age was regarded as a negative attribute in their Polish lives, but in the UK they have discovered that their age does not count against them. They are not regarded as too old to work. Consequently they appreciate the work they have, whether or not that is at a level appropriate to their experience or their expertise. It was evident that, for these older migrants, employment gave meaning to their lives and gave them back their self-esteem. Far from feeling that their “future

had been stolen”, as one woman had described the situation in Poland, they now had the normal life they had lacked in their homeland. They were planning holidays, buying cars, renting houses with gardens, and starting to think ahead.

It had been expected that migration would have a considerable impact on those at this stage of their life course, especially because they would be more settled in their Polish communities. There is no denying that so much of their life is already invested in Poland that they are unable to adapt as easily to the new country as perhaps their younger compatriots; but the overall consensus seems to be that they are happy with this next phase of their life. The age of 45 as a starting point for this research has been useful as it has allowed an exploration of those who may still have young families, as well as those with adult children. This has enabled comparisons to be made to see if the migration experience was defined by family life stage rather than age. The indication was that there were many similarities in their approaches to life in the UK; in particular, across the whole age range, preferences were shown for staying at home and watching Polish television, and using digital communication for keeping in touch with families in Poland. However, above all, it has been clear that for all of these migrants over the age of 45, it was the perception of their lack of value which has shaped their migration experience; this was solely related to their unemployed status in Poland due to their age.

7.5 The Age Group

This investigation has provided more understanding of a specific minority group. It was found that those aged over 45 are more likely to be pioneer migrants in that they choose new destinations in the UK; this is what has made them more difficult to locate. There are not the same networks being used, nor the same spaces. Many of these people are establishing new patterns, and are not reliant on existing social networks or familial links for their migratory journey. They have a much more considered approach to migration decisions, as they may feel more is at risk and they want to reduce this risk as much as possible. Although about 7% of the migration flow from Poland to the UK relates to those over the age of 45, this is likely to increase as the world population grows older; it can be expected that more older people will decide to move from poorer countries in the future, in order to improve

their economic capital. The ways in which these older migrants may choose their destinations could have a significant impact on certain communities. These older migrants do not congregate in spaces where younger Polish migrants were found to be more accessible. It seems that their aspirations, particularly for their families, are conducive to finding places where they want to settle. Those places are usually some distance from other Polish migrants. In many ways, these are wise decisions, as they are more accepted in their new communities. They are seen as individuals rather than grouped together as one nationality, which may or may not be considered welcome, depending on local perceptions. Large groups of migrants can be seen as a threat to the indigenous population, and can attract ill feeling, but these older migrants are reducing the risk to their families in isolating themselves from their compatriots. Previous studies have not identified this concept of pioneer migration among Polish flows since 2004, therefore it has been interesting to note this happening with the older age group.

7.6 Further Research

There are some areas which lend themselves to further investigation. This study has focused on the relevance of age within the migration process and it has been seen that age has been a significant factor in the experiences of these older migrants. Little research has yet been conducted on the emotional dimension of relationships of older migrants within transnational families. It has been seen that there are many underlying emotional issues in the stories of these people, and most of these are related to relationships with parents, with children, or with partners. Focusing on these relationships would provide more understanding of the emotional costs of migration, and this understanding would be strengthened by the particular dilemmas faced by older migrants.

It has also been seen that, although the specific issues encountered by these migrants may have been defined by age, there is a high value placed on their contribution to society. The migrants in this study really appreciated the opportunity of working in the UK, especially when their age had become a barrier to employment in Poland. Further research on this would enhance the understanding of older migrants and their attitudes both to work and to their own economic value. Against a

background of ageing populations and global movements, it is an opportune time for further research, and to open the debate on older migrants.

References

Primary References

Interviewees and age at interview.

All names are pseudonyms

Beata aged 51, Milton Keynes, 7th May 2010

Marek aged 49, Milton Keynes, 30th June 2010

Krystyna aged 49, Milton Keynes, 1st July 2010

Hanne aged 61, Buckingham, 25th August 2010

Brygida aged 43, Milton Keynes, 26th August 2010

Feliks aged 47, Milton Keynes, 27th August 2010

Justyna aged 48, Milton Keynes, 27th August 2010

Tomasz aged 46, Milton Keynes, 28th August 2010

Michal aged 48, Leicester, 5th July 2011

Henryka aged 68, Leicester, 5th July 2011

Adam aged 47, Leicester, 7th July 2011

Piotr aged 50, Leicester, 9th July 2011

Casmir aged 50, Leicester, 9th July 2011

Magda aged 51, Leicester, 12th July 2011

Andrzej aged 55, Leicester, 12th July 2011

Zachariasz aged 45, Leicester, 15th July 2011

Teresa aged 50, Leicester, 15th July 2011

Ewa aged 50, Leicester, 16th July 2011

Szymon aged 62, Leicester, 16th July 2011

Zygmunt aged 59, Leicester, 25th July 2011

Jakub aged 45, Leicester, 25th July 2011

Wojciech aged 46, Leicester, 26th July 2011

Agata aged 45, Leicester, 26th July 2011

Wiktor aged 55, Spalding, 27th July 2011

Sofia aged 62, Spalding, 27th July 2011

Marcin aged 46, Peterborough, 28th July 2011

Wieslaw aged 55, Leicester, 30th July 2011

Mateusz aged 45, Leicester, 30th July 2011

Michalina aged 56, Edinburgh, 1stth August 2011, 7th August 2011

Irena aged 47, Wolverhampton, 2nd August 2011

Gabriela aged 52, Bedford, 6th August 2011

Julia aged 45, Bedford, 6th August 2011

Jerzy aged 58, Dagenham, 4th September 2011

Emilia aged 56, Dagenham, 4th September 2011

Elzbieta aged 60, Dagenham, 4th September 2011

Government sources

Council of Europe. (1984). *On the Maintenance of Migrants' Cultural Links with their Countries of Origin and Leisure Facilities*. Recommendation No. R (84) 7 adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 28 February 1984.

Home Office (2009). *Accession Monitoring Report May 2004 – March 2009. A8 Countries*. London: Home Office

Home Office. (2010). *Control of Immigration: Quarterly Statistical Summary, United Kingdom. January – March 2010*. London: Home Office.

House of Commons (2010). *Exporting out of Recession*. Evidence to the Business & Enterprise Committee by Lord Jones of Birmingham. 3rd report of session 2009 – 2010, Vol II. HC 266-11. London: The Stationery Office

House of Commons (2009). *The Trade in Human Beings: Human Trafficking in the UK*. Home Affairs Committee, 6th Report of Session 2008 – 2009. Vol. II. HC23-II. London: The Stationery Office

House of Commons (2007). *Post-16 Skills*. Education and Skills Committee, 9th Report of Session 2006 – 2007. Vol. II. HC333-II. London: The Stationery Office

OECD (2003). *Trends in International Migration 2002: Continuous Reporting System on Migration*. Paris: OECD Publications

OECD (2006). *Economic Surveys: Poland*. Paris: OECD Publications

ONS (2005). *Labour Force Survey 2005*

ONS (2012). *Labour Force Survey 2012*

ONS (2012). *2011 census*.

ONS (2013). *Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, November 2013*

Select Committee on Economic Affairs (2008). *The Economic Impact of Immigration: Volume II: Evidence*. HL Paper 82-II

Social Policy Section. (2012a). *Entitlement to social housing: persons from abroad (non-EEA)*. SN/SP/5433

Social Policy Section. (2012b). *EU Migrants: entitlement to housing assistance (England)*. SN/SP/4737

UKBA (2013). *Migrant Seasonal Workers: The Impact on the Horticultural and Food processing Sectors of Closing the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme and the Sectors Based Scheme*. Migration Advisory Committee

World Bank (2013). *Data: Unemployment Total (% of total labour force)*.

Archival

Archives New Zealand, Wellington. Star of India, 1873 IM74/97; Earl of Zetland, 1875 IM15/206; Asia, 1874 IM15/94; James Nicol Fleming, 1874 IM15/102; Hindostan, 1874, IM15/10; Scimitar, 1874 IM15/91; Atrato, 1874 IM15/100, Buckinghamshire, 1874 IM15/109

National Archives, London. Ship Manifests Waiwera 1902, Wakanui 1908, Corinthic 1909, Athenic 1912

Secondary References

Abi-Hashem, N. (2006). "The Agony, Silent Grief and Deep Frustration of Many Communities in the Middle East: Challenges for Coping and Survival." In PTP Wong & LCJ Wong (eds) *Handbook of Multicultural Perspectives on Stress and Coping*. New York: Springer

Aboul-Enein, F. & Ahmed, F. (2006). "How Language Barriers Impact Patient Care: A Commentary". *Journal of Cultural Diversity*, 13:3

Access Economics. (2003). *The Importance of Age in Migrants' Fiscal Impact*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/pdf/migrant_age_on_arrival.pdf (Accessed 8/6/12)

Adams, RG. (1986). "A Look at Friendship and Ageing." *Generations*, 10:4

Adamson, F. (2005). 'Politics Beyond the State: Globalisation, Migration and the Challenge of Non-State Actors'. In OP Richmond & HF Carey, eds, *Subcontracting Peace: The Challenges of NGO Peacebuilding*. Aldershot: Ashgate

- Agadjanian, V., Nedoluzhko, L. & Kumskov, G. (2008). 'Eager to Leave? Intentions to Migrate Abroad among Young People in Kyrgyzstan.' *The International Migration Review*. 42:3
- Ahn, J.J. (2011). *Exile as Forced Migrations: A Sociological, Literary and Theological Approach on the Displacement and Resettlement of the Southern Kingdom of Judah*. Berlin: De Gruyter
- Ahsen Ullah, AKM. (2010). *Rationalizing Migration Decisions: Labour Migrants in East and South East Asia*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Alazzi, K. & Chiodo, JJ. (2006). "Uncovering Problems and Identifying Coping Strategies of Middle Eastern University Students". *International Education*, 35:2
- Alonso, A. & Oiarzabal, PJ. (2010). *Diasporas in the New Media Age: Identity, Politics and Community*. Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press
- ALSA. (2011). *Flinders University Centre for Ageing Studies*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.flinders.edu.au/sabs/fcas/alsa/> (Accessed: 6/12/11)
- Ascott, DE. & Lewis, F. (2000). "Motives to Move: Reconstructing Individual Migration Histories in early Eighteenth Century Liverpool". In DJ. Siddle (ed), *Migration, Mobility, and Modernization*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press
- Attias-Donfut, C. & Wolff, F. (2005). "The Preferred Burial Location of Persons Born Outside France". *Population*, 60:5/6
- Ahearn, FL. (2000). *Psychosocial Wellness of Refugees: Issues in qualitative and quantitative research*. New York: Berghahn Books
- Ahmed, S. & Castaneda, C. & Fortier, A. & Sheller, M. (eds). *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. New York: Berg
- Alazzi, K. & Chiodo, JJ. (2006). "Uncovering Problems and Identifying Coping Strategies of Middle Eastern University Students". *International Education*, 35:2
- Al-Dajani, H. (2008). *The Empowerment of Self Employed Eastern European Migrant Women*. (working paper) [Online] Available from: <http://www.prowess.org.uk/conference/Fitorthefuture.htm> (Accessed 28/1/10)
- Anderson, B. & Ruhs, M. & Rogaly, B. & Spencer, S. (2006). "Fair enough? Central and Eastern European Migrants in the Low-Wage Employment in the UK". *COMPAS Research Report*, University of Oxford
- Australian Government (2008). *Access and Equity in Government Services 2006 – 2008*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.immi.gov.au/about/reports/access-equity/2008/html/community_feedback/women.htm (Accessed 25/1/10)
- Bacigalupe, G. & Lambe, S. (2011). "Virtualizing Intimacy: Information Communication Technologies and Transnational Families in Therapy". *Family Process*, 50: 1

- Bagehot.(2011). "Why Britain Should be Proud of Opening its Labour Market to Eastern Europe". *The Economist*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.economist.com/blogs/bagehot/2011/05/immigration_britain (Accessed: 10/3/12)
- Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 5th ed. Bristol: Multilingual Matters
- Bakewell, O. & Jonsson, G. (2011). *Migration, Mobility and the African City*. Working Paper 50, December 2011, University of Oxford: International Migration Institute
- Baldassar, L. (2001). *Visits Home: Migration Experiences Between Italy and Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press
- Baldassar, L. (2007). "Transnational Families and Aged Care: the Mobility of Care and the Migrancy of Ageing". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33:2
- Baldassar, L. (2011). "Obligation to People and Places: The National in Cultures of Caregiving". In L. Baldassar & D. Gabaccio (eds), *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World*. New York: Fordham University Press
- Baldassar, L. & Gabaccia, DR. (2011). *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World*. New York: Fordham University Press
- Baldock, CV. (2005) "Migrants and their Parents: Caregiving from a Distance". In FJ. Turner (ed), . *Social Work Diagnosis in Contemporary Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Barrell, R., Kirby, S., Riley, R. (2006a). "UK Economy Forecast". *National Institute Economic Review*, 197
- Barrell, R., Kirby, S., Riley, R. (2006b). "Migration in Europe". *National Institute Economic Review*, 195
- Bauer, T. & Zimmermann, KF. (1999). *Assessment of Possible Migration Pressure and its Labour Market Impact Following EU Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe: A study for the Department of Education and Employment, United Kingdom*. Bonn: I Z A Research Report No. 3
- Becker, G. (2002). "Dying away from Home: Quandaries of Migration for Elders in Two Ethnic Groups". *Journal of Gerontology B: Social Sciences*, 57
- Becker, G. (2003). "Meanings of Place and Displacement in Three Groups of Older Immigrants". *Journal of Aging Studies*, 17
- Benson, J. & Thistlethwaite, J. (2009). *Mental Health across Cultures: A Practical Guide for Health Professionals*. Abingdon: Radcliffe Publishing
- Benson, M. & O'Reilly, K. (2009). "Lifestyle Migration: Escaping to the Good Life?." In K.O'Reilly & M. Benson (eds). *Lifestyle Migration: Expectations, Aspirations and Experiences*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Beyer, G (2007). 'A Theoretical Appreciation of the Ethic of Solidarity in Poland Twenty-Five Years After.' *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 35: 2

- Bhat, K. (2007). "At a Loss: The Exodus from Eastern Europe". *Harvard International Review* 28:4
- Bista, K. (2009). Age as an Affective Factor in Second Language Acquisition. *Journal of English for Specific Purposes*.
- BKL. (2012). *Study of Human Capital in Poland*. [Online]. Available from: http://bkl.parp.gov.pl/system/files/Downloads/20120803085042/Broszura_2012_eng_final.pdf?1343976656 (Accessed: 9/4/13)
- Bloemen, HG. (2012). *Language Proficiency of Migrants: the Relation with Job Satisfaction and Matching*. [Online] Available from: http://www.iza.org/conference_files/amm2012/bloemen_h2189.pdf (Accessed: 20/11/12)
- Bloom, DE. & Canning, D. & Fink, G. (2011). *Implications of Population Aging for Economic Growth*. Working Paper Series. Paper 64, Program on the Global Demography of Aging, Harvard School of Public Health
- Bolzman, C. & Fibbi, R. & Vial, M. (2006). "What to do after retirement? Elderly migrants and the question of return". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32:8
- Boren, ME. (2001). *Student Resistance: A History of the Unruly Subject*. London: Routledge
- Bornstein, MH., Mortimer, JT., Lutfey, K. & Bradley, RH. (2011). "Theories and Processes in Life-Span Socialization". In KL Fingerman, ed. *Handbook of Life-Span Development*. New York: Springer
- Botterill, K. (2008) *Transnationalism and the Social Mobility of Migrant Workers from the Post Socialist World* [Online] Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1157825> (accessed 19/1/10)
- Botterill, K. (2011). *Mobility and Immobility in the European Union: Experiences of Young Polish People Living in the UK* [Online] Available from: http://www.bath.ac.uk/polis/networks/polish-migration/documents/SM-PP_1x_2011.pdf (Accessed: 16/2/13)
- Bousetta, H. & Gsir, S. & Jacobs, D. (2007). "Belgium". In A. Triandafyllidou & R.Gropas (eds), *European Immigration: A Sourcebook*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Bornstein, MH., Mortimer, JT., Lutfey, K. & Bradley, RH. (2011). "Theories and Processes in Life-Span Socialization". In KL Fingerman, ed. *Handbook of Life-Span Development*. New York: Springer
- Bowden, R. & Merritt, R. (1995). "The Adult Learner Challenge: Instructionally and Administratively." *Education*, 115
- Boyatzis, RE. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Thousand Oaks & London: Sage Publications
- Boym, S. (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books
- Bozic, S. (2006). 'The Achievement and Potential of International Retirement Migration Research: The Need for Disciplinary Exchange.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32:8
- Brody, L. (2001). *Gender, Emotion, and the Family*. Harvard: Harvard University Press

- Bryceson, DF. & Vuorela, U. (2002). *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*. Oxford: Oxford International Publishers
- Bujis, G. (1993). *Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities*. Oxford: Berg
- Burrell, K. (2006). *Moving Lives: Narratives of Nation and Migration among Europeans in Post-War Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Burrell, K. (2008). "Time Matters: Temporal Contexts of Polish Transnationalism." In MP Smith & J. Eade (eds) *Transnational Ties: Cities, Migrations, and Identities*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers
- Burrell, K. (2008a). "Managing, Learning and Sending: The Material Lives and Journeys of Polish Women in Britain". *Journal of Material Culture*, 13:1
- Burrell, K. (2009). Ed. *Polish Migration to the UK in the "New" European Union*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Burrell, K. (2011a). "The Enchantment of Western Things: Children's Material Encounters in Late Socialist Poland". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36:1
- Burrell, K. (2011b). "Opportunity and Uncertainty: Young People's Narratives of 'Double Transition' in Post-Socialist Poland". *Area*, 43:4
- Burrell, K. (2011c). "Going Steerage on Ryanair: Cultures of Air Travel for Migration from Poland to the UK". *Journal of Transport Geography*, 19:5
- Burrell, K. (2012). "The Objects of Christmas: The Politics of Festive Materiality in the Lives of Polish Immigrants". In M. Svasek (ed), *Moving Subjects, Moving Objects: Transnationalism, Cultural production and Emotions*. New York & Oxford: Bergbahn Books
- Byram, M. (2000). *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Language Teaching and Learning*. London: Routledge
- Calasanti, T. (2005). "Ageism, Gravity, and Gender: Experiences of Ageing Bodies". *Generations*, 29:3
- Campbell, B. (2006). *Age Matters: The Cognitive Strategies and Benefits of Learning among College-Degreed Older Adults*. Unpublished PhD dissertation: Antioch University
- Cangiano, A. & Cyrus, N. & Vogel, D. (2007). *Economic Migrant Workers*. IP/A/EMPL/IC/2007-059. Brussels: European Parliament's Policy Department Economic & Scientific Policy
- Cardenas, M. & Di Maro, V. & Sorkin, I. (2009). "Migration and Life Satisfaction: Evidence from Latin America". *Journal of Business Strategies*, 26:1
- Casado-Diaz, MA. & Kaiser, C. & Warnes, AM. (2004). "Northern European Retired Residents in Nine Southern European Areas: Characteristics, Motivations and Adjustment". *Ageing and Society*, 24: 3
- Castles, S. (2004). 'The Factors that Make and Unmake Migration Policies'. *The International Migration Review* 38:3
- CEDEFOP. (2011). *Vocational Education and Training in Poland*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union

- Chamberlain, M. & Leydesdorff, S. (2004). "Transnational Families: Memories and Narratives." *Global Networks*, 4:3
- Chavez, C. (2008). "Conceptualising from the Inside: Advantages, Implications and Demands on Insider Positionality". *The Qualitative Report*, 13:3
- Cheshire Police. (2008). *The Impact of Accession Migration on UK Policing*. [Online] Available from: http://www.cheshire.police.uk/uploads/migration_conference_notes_1_v5_1.4.08.doc (Accessed: 30/1/10)
- Civitas (2009). European Enlargement. [Online] Available at: <http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSMS/MSI.htm> (accessed 12/11/09)
- Clark, K. & Drinkwater, S. (2008). "The Labour Market Performance of Recent Migrants". *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 24:3
- Clark, N. & Hardy, J. (2011). *Free Movement in the EU: The Case of Great Britain*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. [Online] Available from: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id/ipa/08041.pdf> (Accessed: 2/2/13)
- Clark, WAV. & Withers, SD. (2007). "Family Migration and Mobility Sequences in the United States: Spatial Mobility in the Context of the Life Course". *Demographic Research*, 17
- Clausen, JA. (1986). *The Life Course: A Sociological Perspective*. New York: Prentice-Hall
- Cliggett, L. (2000). "Social Components of Migration: Experiences from Southern Province, Zambia." *Human Organization*, 59: 1
- Cohen, R. (1997). *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. Seattle: University of Washington Press
- Cohen, L. & Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research Methods in Education*. (6th ed). Abingdon: Routledge
- Cook, J. & Dwyer, P. & Waite, L. (2011). 'The Experiences of Accession 8 Migrants in England: Motivations, Work and Agency'. *International Migration*: 49:2
- Cresswell, JW. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Crowe, M. (2000). "Constructing Normality: A Discourse Analysis of the DSM-IV". *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, 7
- Currie, S. (2008). *Migration, Work and Citizenship in the Enlarged European Union*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Daft, RL. & Lane, PG (2007). *The Leadership Experience* 4th ed. Mason, Ohio: Thomson
- Danford, A. (2008). *Action Research in Action: The Experience of Polish Migrant Workers*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.uwe.ac.uk/bbs/research/cesr/review/April08/Danford.pdf> (Accessed: 13/11/09)

- Darlington, Y. & Scott, D. (2002). *Qualitative Research in Practice: Stories from the Field*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin
- Davies, A. & James, A. (2011). *Geographies of Ageing: Social Processes and the Spatial Unevenness of Population Ageing*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Davies, N. (2001). *Heart of Europe: the Past in Poland's Present*. Oxford: OUP
- Dawar, A. (2012). *Just Call Us Poland Say City of Migrants*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.express.co.uk/posts/view/333577/Just-call-us-Poland-say-city-of-migrants> (Accessed: 2/2/13)
- De Boer-Ashworth, E. (2000). *The Global Political Economy and Post-1989 Change: The Place of the Central European Transition*. Houndmills: Macmillan
- Dhar, VE. (2011). "Transnational Caregiving: Part 2, Caring for Family Relations across Nations". *Care Management Journals*, 12:3
- Dickson, FC. & Christian, A. & Remmo, CJ. (2004). "Exploration of the Marital and Family Issues of the Later-Life Adult." In A. Vangelisti (ed) *Handbook of Family Communication*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Diller, JV. (2011). *Cultural Diversity: A Primer for the Human Services*. 4th ed. Belmont: Brooke/Cole (Cengage)
- Dreby, J. (2010). *Divided by Borders: Mexican Migrants and their Children*. London: University of California Press
- Drew, LM. & Smith, PK. (2002). "Implications for Grandparents when they Lose Contact with their Grandchildren: Divorce, Family Feud, and Geographical Separation." *Journal of Mental Health and Aging*, 8
- Drinkwater, S. & Eade, J. & Garapich, M. (2010). "What's Behind the Figures? An Investigation into Recent Polish Migration to the UK." In R. Black & G. Engberson & M. Okolski & C. Pantiru (eds). *A Continent Moving West?: EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press
- Duhr, S. & Colomb, C. & Nadin, V. (2010). *European Spatial Planning and Territorial Co-operation*. Abingdon: Routledge
- Dustmann, C. (1999). "Temporary Migration, Human Capital and Language Fluency of Migrants". *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 101:2
- Duvell, F. & Garapich, M. (2011). *Polish Migration to the UK: Continuities and Discontinuities*. Working Paper No. 84, University of Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society
- Dwyer, S. & Buckle, J. (2009). "The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research". *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8:1

Dykstra, PA., Liefbroer, AC., Kalmijn, M., Knijn, GCM. & Komter. AE. (2006). *Family Relationships: The Ties that Bind – A Sociological and Demographic Research Programme 2000 – 2006*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.nkps.nl/Downloads/TiesThatBind.pdf> (Accessed: 6/12/11)

Eade, J. (2007). *Class and Ethnicity: Polish Migrant Workers in London: Full Research Report*. Swindon: ESRC

Eade, J. & Garapich, MP. (2009). "Settling or Surviving in London? The Experience of Poles and Other A8 Migrants in a Global City Borough". In J. Eade & Y. Valkanova (eds), *Accession and Migration: Changing Policy, Society, and Culture in an Enlarged Europe*. Surrey: Ashgate

Earle, H. (2004). "Farewell to Prague, by Miriam Darvas". *Shofar*, 22:4

Eide, P. & Allen, CB. (2005). "Recruiting Transcultural Qualitative Research Participants: A Conceptual Model. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 4:2

Elrick, T. & Brinkmeier, E. (2009). "Changing Patterns of Polish Labour Migration after the UK's Opening of the Labour Market? Insights from Rural Case-Studies in the Opolskie and Swietokrzyskie Voivodships." In K.Burrell (ed) *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union*. Farnham: Ashgate

Egbert, M-L. (2010). " 'Old Poles' and 'New Blacks': The Polish Immigrant Experience in Britain." In B. Koret & EU Pirker & S. Helff (eds). *Facing the East in the West: Images of Eastern Europe in British Literature, Film and Culture*. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi

Elrick, T. & Brinkmeier, E. (2009). "Changing Patterns of Polish Labour Migration after the UK's Opening of the Labour Market? Insights from Rural Case-Studies in the Opolskie and Swietokrzyskie Voivodships." In K.Burrell (ed) *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union*. Farnham: Ashgate

Emmott, C. (1999). *Narrative Comprehension: A Discourse Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Erol, PO. (2009). "Social Construction of Old Age Among University Students in Turkey". *Sincronia*, 50

Espiritu, YL. (2003). *Homebound: Filipino American Lives across Cultures, Communities and Countries*. Los Angeles: University of California

Estevez, SM. (2009). "Is Nostalgia Becoming Digital?: Ecuadorian Diaspora in the Age of Global Capitalism". *Social Identities*, 15:3

Etherington, K. (2004). *Becoming a Reflexive Researcher: Using Our Selves in Research*. London: Jessica Kingsley

Europa. (2010) *Employment equity rules: reasoned opinion to Poland*. IP/10/71 [Online] Available from: <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/10/71&type=HTML> (Accessed: 10/3/12)

European Commission (nd). *Myths and Facts about Enlargement*. [Online]. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/questions_and_answers/myths_en.htm (accessed 12/11/09)

- Falkingham, J. & Chepngeño-Langat, G. & Evandrou, M. (2011). 'Outward Migration from Large Cities: Are Older Migrants in Nairobi "Returning"?' [Online]. Available from: http://www.cpc.ac.uk/resources/downloads/Outward_migration_from_large_cities.pdf (Accessed: 19/5/12)
- Faluszczyk, M. (2008). "The European Union and its New Members". *Monthly Labor Review*, 131:10
- Fan, C. & Sun, M. & Zheng, S. (2011). "Migration and Split Households: A Comparison of Sole, Couple and Family Migrants in Beijing, China". *Environment and Planning*, 43
- Feldmann, H. (2004). "How Flexible are Labour Markets in the EU Accession Countries Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic?". *Comparative Economic Studies*, 46:2
- Feridun, M. (2008). "Labour Migration and Economic Development: The Case of Denmark". In G. Silasi & OL Simina, eds. *Migration, Mobility and Human Rights at the Eastern Border of the European Union – Space of Freedom and Security*. Timisoara: Editura Universitatii de Vest
- Fihel, A. & Kaczmarczyk, P. (2009). "Migration: A Threat or a Chance? Recent Migration of Poles and its Impact on the Polish Labour Market". In K. Burrell (ed), *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union: After 2004*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Fihel, A. (ed). (2011). *Recent Trends in International Migration in Poland: The 2011 SOPEMI Report*. Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research
- Fingerman, KL. & Berg, CA. & Smith, J. & Anonucci, TC. eds. (2011). *Handbook of Life-Span Development*. New York: Springer
- Finlay, L. (2003). "The Reflexive Journey: Mapping Multiple Routes." In L. Finlay & B. Gough (eds) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Fisk, AD. & Rogers, WA. & Charness, N. & Czaja, S. & Sharit, J. (2009). *Designing for Older Adults: Principles and Creative Human Factors Approaches*. 2nd ed. Florida: CRC Press
- Flatley, M. (2011). *Finding a Voice: Bangladeshi Women and Barriers to Language Learning*. Unpublished Action Research. [Online]. Available from: <http://mklc.co.uk/papers/> (Accessed: 13/12/11)
- Friedlmeier, M. & Friedlmeier, W. (2012). "Continuity and Change in Family Structures, Family Relations and Values in Eastern European Countries after the Collapse of Communism". *Cognitie, Creier, Comportament*, 16:2
- Galam, R. (2012). *Imagined Communion: Mobile Communication and the Transnational Reproduction of Affective Ties Among Filipino Seafarer Families*. Digital Crossroads Conference paper, Utrecht University, June 28 – 30, 2012
- Galasinska, A. & Kozłowska, O. (2009). "Discourses of a 'Normal Life' among Post-Accession Migrants from Poland to Britain". In K. Burrell (ed). *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union after 2004*. Farnham: Ashgate

- Galgoczi, B. & Leschke, J. & Watt, A. (2009). *EU Labour Migration since Enlargement: Trends, Impacts & Policies*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Ganga, D. (2006a). "Reinventing the Myth of Return: Older Italians in Nottingham." In K. Burrell & P. Panayi (eds) *Histories and Memories: Migrants and their History in Britain*. New York: Tauris Academic Studies
- Ganga, D. (2006b). 'From Potential Returnees into Settlers: Nottingham's Older Italians.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32:8
- Ganga, D. & Scott, S. (2006). "Cultural 'Insiders' and the Issue of Positionality in Qualitative Migration Research". *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 7:3
- Garapich, MP. (2006). *London's Polish Borders: Class and Ethnicity among Global City Migrants*. Guildford: CRONEM (Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism), Universities of Surrey and Roehampton
- Gardner, K. (2002). *Age, Narrative and Migration: The Life Course and Life Histories of Bengali Elders in London*. Oxford: Berg
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2006). "The Other Side of the Story: Towards a Narrative Analysis of Narrative-in-Interaction". *Discourse Studies*, 8:2
- Ghosh, P. & Khan, SA. (2005). *Transcultural Geriatrics: Caring for Elderly People of Indo-Asian Origin*. Abingdon: Radcliffe Publishing
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity
- Gidley, B. & Jayaweera, H. (2010). "An Evidence Base on Migration and Integration in London". *ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society*, University of Oxford
- Gillingham, E. (2010). *Understanding A8 Migration to the UK since Accession*. Office for National Statistics
- Gislason, SJ. (2011). *Children, Adolescents and the Family*. British Columbia: Persona Digital Books
- Glossop, C. & Shaheen, F. (2009). *Accession to Recession: A8 Migration in Bristol and Hull*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.centreforcities.org/assets/files/Accession%20to%20Recession%20.pdf> (Accessed 29/1/10)
- Gold, SJ. & Amthor, RF. (2011). "Life-Span Development and International Migration." In KL. Fingerman (ed). *Handbook of Life-Span Development*. New York: Springer
- Green, AE. & Canny, A. (2003). *Geographical Mobility: Family Impacts*. Bristol: Policy Press
- Green, AE. & Owen, DW. & Jones, P. & Owen, C. & Francis, J. (2007). "The Economic Impact of Migrant Workers in the West Midlands". *West Midlands Regional Observatory*, Birmingham

- Haber, D. (2010). *Health Promotion and Aging: practical applications for health professionals*. New York: Springer
- Haour-Knipe, M. (2008). *Dreams & Disappointments: Migration & Families in the Context of HIV and AIDS*. JLIC, August 2008
- Hardin, J. & McFarland, M. (2000). "Avoiding Gender and Minority Barriers to NIH Funding". *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 32: 1
- Hareven, TK. (1994). "Aging and Generational Relations: A Historical and Life Course Perspective". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 20
- Harley, B. & Wang, W. (1997). "The Critical Period Hypothesis: Where are we now?" In A. de Groot & J. Kroll (eds), *Tutorials in Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum
- Harris, JL. (2011). "Multicultural and Multi-Linguistic Issues". In L. LaPointe *Aphasia and Related Neurogenic Language Disorders*, 4th ed. New York: Thieme Medical Publishers
- Haynes, K. (2006). *Other Lives in Accounting: Critical Reflections on Oral History Methodology in Action*. University of York: Department of Management Studies Working Paper No.21
- Heath, S. & McGhee, D. & Trevena, P. (2011). "Lost in Transnationalism: Unravelling the Conceptualisation of Families and Personal Life through a Transnational Gaze". *Sociological Research Online*, 16: 4
- Hettige, ST. & Ekanayake, ES. & Jayasundere, R. & Rathnayake, A. & Figurado, P. (2012). *Understanding Psychosocial Issues Faced by Migrant Workers and their Families*. Background paper supported by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.
- Hickman, M. & Crowley, H. & Mai, N. (2008). *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Hickman, MJ. & Mai, N. & Crowley, H. (2012). *Migration and Social Cohesion in the UK*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Hollifield, JF. (2000). "The Politics of International Migration." In C.Brettell & JF Hollifield, eds *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. London: Routledge
- Holt, M. (2011). "Keeping the Memory Alive: Palestinian Women in Lebanon Narrate Home, Homeland and Homelessness." In D. Glenn, E. Bouvet & S. Floriani, (eds). *Imagining Home: Migrants and the Search for a New Belonging*. Kent Town, Sth Australia: Wakefield Press
- Hong, Y. (2011). *Labour, Class Formation and China's Informationized Policy of Economic Development*. Plymouth: Lexington Books
- Hooghe, M, Trappers, A. Meuleman, B. & Reeskens, T. (2008). 'Migration to European Countries: a Structural Explanation of Patterns 1980 – 2004.' *The International Migration Review*. 42:2

- Horst, H. (2006). "The Blessings and Burdens of Communication: Cell Phones in Jamaican Transnational Fields", *Global Networks*, 6:2
- Howard, MC. (2011). *Transnationalism and Society: An Introduction*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company
- Huchanski, JD. (1997). *Immigrants and Access to Housing*. Metropolis Year 11 Conference, Montreal November 1997. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.urbancentre.utoronto.ca/pdfs/researchassociates/Immigrants-Access-to-Housin.pdf> (Accessed: 17/1/10)
- Humphries, J. (2010). "The First Industrial Nation and the First 'Modern' Family. In T. Addabbo & C. Borderias & M. Arrizabalaga & A. Owens (eds). *Gender Inequalities, Households and the Production of Well-Being in Modern Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Hunt, S. (2005). *The Life Course: A Sociological Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Hunter, RJ & Ryan, LV (1998). *From Autarchy to Market: Polish Economies and Politics, 1945 – 1995*. Westport: Praeger
- Hurd, LC. (1999). "'We're Not Old!': Older Women's Negotiation of Ageing and Oldness". *Journal of Ageing Studies*, 14: 4
- Iglicka, K. (2001). *Poland's Post-war Dynamic of Migration*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Iglicka, K. & Ziolek-Skrzypczak, M. (2010). *EU Membership Highlights Poland's Migration Challenges*. Washington: Migration Policy Institute [Online] Available from: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=800> (Accessed: 28/3/13)
- Illes, S. (2005). "Elderly immigration to Hungary". *Migration Letters*, 2:2
- Izuhara, M. & Shibata, H. (2001). "Migration and Old Age: Japanese Women Growing Older in British Society." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 32: 4
- Janik, W. (2008). "The Role of Small Enterprises in Poland's Economic Development". *Romanian Journal of Regional Science*, 2:1
- Janta, H. & Ladkin, A. & Brown, L. & Lugosi, P. (2011). 'Employment Experiences of Polish Migrant Workers in the UK Hospitality Sector'. *Tourism Management*. Vol 32
- Jin, L. (2011). "Narrative Research Methodology in Mobile Work Research". *The Qualitative Report*, 16:3
- Jones, R. (2004). "Blended Voices: Crafting a Narrative from Oral History Interviews". *Oral History Review*, 31:1
- Juhasz, G. (2006). "Exporting or Pulling Down? The European Social Model and Eastern Enlargement of the EU". *European Journal of Social Quality*, 6:1
- Kagan, C. & Lewis, S. (1998). "Editorial". *Community, Work and Family*, 1:1

- Kahanec, M. & Zimmermann, K.F. (2009). *Migration in an Enlarged EU: A Challenging Solution?* Brussels: European Commission, Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs
- Katz, S. (2002). "Growing Older without Aging? Positive Aging, Anti-Ageism, and Anti-Aging". *Generations*, 25:4
- Katz, S. (2005). *Cultural Aging: Life Course, Lifestyle and Senior Worlds*. Broadview, Peterborough, Canada
- Kemp-Welch, T. (2007). 'Solidarity and the Super-Powers, 1980 – 1981'. *InterMarium* 10:1 [Online]. Available from: www.sipa.columbia.edu/ece/research/intermarium/index.html (accessed 4/11/10)
- Kennedy, M. (1994). "An Introduction to East European Ideology and Identity in Transformation". In M.Kennedy. (ed), *Envisioning Eastern Europe: Postcommunist Cultural Studies*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press
- Kennedy, P.T. & Roudometof, V. (2002). *Communities Across Borders: New Immigrants and Transnational Cultures*. London: Routledge
- Khoo, S-E, Hugo, G. & McDonald, P. (2008). 'Which Skilled Temporary Migrants Become Permanent Residents and Why?' *International Migration Review*. 42:1
- Kim, H. & Traphagan, J.W. (2010). "Irony and the Sociocultural Construction of Old Age in South Korea: Perspectives from Government, the Medical Profession, and the Aged". *Care Management Journals*, 11:3
- Kim, J-H. (2008). "A Romance with Narrative Inquiry: Towards an Act of Narrative Theorizing". *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue*, 10:1-2
- Kim, J. (2010). "'Downed' and Stuck in Singapore: Lower/Middle class South Korean Wild Geese (Kirogi) Children in Singapore." In E. Hannum & H. Park & YG. Butler (eds). *Globalisation, Changing Demographics, and Educational Challenges in East Asia*. Bingley: Emerald Group
- King, R, Warnes, AM, & Williams, AM (1998). 'International Retirement Migration in Europe'. *International Journal of Population Geography*: 4
- King, R. & Warnes, AM. & Williams, AM. (2000). *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Berg
- Kirby, S. & Barrell, R. (2009). "Prospects for the UK Economy." *National Institute Economic Review*, 209.
- Kirby, S. & Barrell, R. & Foley-Fisher, N. (2009). "Prospects for the UK Economy." *National Institute Economic Review*, 210
- Knauf, D. & Moreno, B. (2010). *Leaving Home: Migration Yesterday and Today*. Bremen: Edition Temmen.
- Knowles, C. & Harper, DA. (2009). *Hong Kong: Migrant Lives, Landscapes and Journeys*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

- Koba, N. & Ogawa, N. & Wilkinson, D. (2000). *Using the Community Language Learning Approach to Cope with Language Anxiety*. [Online]. Available from: <http://iteslj.org/Articles/Koba-CLL.html> (Accessed 4/3/11)
- Kolodko, G.W. & Rutkowski, M. (1991). "The Problem of Transition from a Socialist to a Free Market Economy: The Case of Poland". *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*. 16:2
- Kopnina, H. (2005). *East to West Migration: Russian Migrants in Western Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Kosic, A. (2006). 'Personality and Individual Factors in Acculturation'. In D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry, eds. *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Kowalik, T. (2012). *From Solidarity to Sellout: The Restoration of Capitalism in Poland*. New York: Monthly Review Press
- Kozłowska, O. (2010). *The Lived Experience of Economic Migration in the Narratives of Migrants from Post-Communist Poland to Britain*. Unpublished PhD, University of Wolverhampton
- Kraatz, I. (2010). *Social Problems in the 21st Century of Poland: An Analysis with Focus on Politics, Labour Market and Working Migration*. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag
- Kraler, A. & Sohler, K. (2007). "Austria". In A. Triandafyllidou & R. Gropas (eds), *European Immigration: A Sourcebook*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Krings, T. & Bobek, A. & Moriarty, E. & Salamonska, J. & Wickham, J. (2009). "Migration and Recession: Polish Migrants in Post-Celtic Tiger Ireland." *Sociological Research Online*, 14:2,3. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/14/2/9.html> (Accessed: 13/11/09)
- Krzyżanowski, J. (2006). "Foreword". In J. Cisek, *Polish Refugees and the Polish American and Relief Committee*. North Carolina: McFarland & Co.
- Kulu, H. & Milewski, N. (2007). "Family Change and Migration in the Life Course: An Introduction". *Demographic Research*, 17
- Kunemund, H. & Motel-Klingebiel, A. & Kohli, M. (2005). 'Do Intergenerational Transfers from Elderly Parents Increase Social Inequality among their Middle-Aged Children? Evidence from the German Aging Survey'. *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences*, 60:1
- Leach, M.A. (2008). "America's Older Immigrants: A Profile." *Generations*, 32:4
- Leavy, P. (2011). *Oral History: Understanding Qualitative Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Lejour, A.M., De Mooij, R.A. and Nahujs, R. (2001) *EU Enlargement: Economic Implications for Countries and Industries*. CESifo Working Paper Series No. 585. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=287847> (accessed 19/1/10)
- Leuner, B. (2010). "Patterns of Language Use: Polish Migrants from the 1980s and Their Children in Melbourne". *Babel*, 44:3

- Leuner, B. (2008). *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s*. Bern: Peter Lang
- Lewinter, M. & Kesmez, SS. & Gezgin, K. (1996). "The Social Situation of Elderly Turkish Immigrants in Copenhagen, Denmark". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 11:2
- Livingston, B. & Judge, T.A. (2008). "Emotional Responses to Work-Family Conflict: An Examination of Gender-Role Orientation among Working Men and Women". *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 207-216
- Longhi, S. & Rokicka, M. (2012). *European Immigrants in the UK before and after the 2004 Enlargement: Is there a Change in Immigrant Self-Selection?* ISER Working Paper Series, No. 2012-22, October 2012.
- Lopez Rodriguez, M. (2010). "Migration and a Quest for 'Normalcy.' Polish migrant Mothers and the Capitalization of Meritocratic Opportunities in the UK." *Social Identities*, 16:3
- Loucky, J., Armstrong, J. & Estrada, LJ. eds. (2006). *Immigration in America Today: An Encyclopaedia*. Westport: Greenwood Press
- Lourenco, I. & Cachado, R. (2012). "Hindu Transnational Families: Transformation and Continuity in Diaspora Families". *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 43:1
- Lubiewska, K. (2012). "Attachment Transmissions across Three Generations in the Context of Socio-Political Transformation in Poland". *Cognitie, Creier, Comportament*, 16:2
- Lucas, REB. (2005). *International Migration and Economic Development: Lessons from Low-Income Countries*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing
- Mach, Z. (2005). "Polish Diaspora". In MJ Gibney & RA Hansen (eds), *Immigration and Asylum: From 1900 to the Present*, Vol.1. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO
- Mai, N. & King, R. (2009). "Love, Sexuality and Migration: Mapping the Issue(s)". *Mobilities*, 4:3
- Manacorda, M., Manning, A. & Wadsworth, J. (2006). *The impact of Immigration on the Structure of Wages and Employment: Theory and Evidence from Britain* Working Paper [Online]. Available from: http://www.econ.ucl.ac.uk/cream/Accepted_Papers/Marco%20Manacorda/manacorda_manning_wadsworth.pdf (Accessed: 29/1/10)
- Mankiw, NG. & Taylor, MP. (2011). *Microeconomics*. Andover: Cengage Learning
- Markides, K. & Salinas, J. & Sheffield, K. (2008). "The Health of Older Immigrants". *Generations*, 32:4
- Markova, E. (2009). "Bulgarian Immigration and Community Cohesion in London and Brighton." In J. Eade & Y. Valkanova (eds). *Accession and Migration: Changing Policy, Society and Culture in an Enlarged Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Marshall, S. & While, A. (1994). "Interviewing Respondents who Have English as a Second Language: Challenges Encountered and Suggestions for Other Researchers". *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 19

- Martin, RJ. & Van Gunten, DM. (2002). "Reflected Identities: Applying Positionality and Multicultural Social Reconstructionism in Teacher Education". *Journal of Teacher Education*, 53:1
- Martin, SS. (2009). "Illness of the Mind or Illness of the Spirit? Mental Health-Related Conceptualization and Practices of Older Iranian Immigrants." *Health and Social Work*, 34: 4
- Maslow, A. (1943). *A Theory of Human Motivation*. Psychological Review, 50
- McAdams, DP. (2011). "Life Narratives". In *Handbook of Life-Span Development*. (ed). KL.Fingerman. New York: Springer
- McCarthy, A, (2005). *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840 – 1937: 'The Desired Haven'*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press
- McCarthy, A. (2007). *Personal Narratives of Irish and Scottish Migration, 1921 – 65*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- McCook, B. (2011). *The Borders of Integration: Polish Migrants in Germany and the United States, 1870 – 1924*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press
- McDowell, L. (2008). "On the Significance of Being White: European Migrant Workers in the British Economy in the 1940s and 2000s". In C.Dwyer & C. Bressey (eds), *New Geographies of Race and Racism*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- McDowell, L. & Batnitsky, A. & Dyer, S. (2008). "Migration, Employment and Gender Divisions of Labour". In JL Scott & S. Dex & H. Joshi. (eds). *Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing
- McKeon, J. (2008). *Worlds Apart: The Changing Lifestyles of Working Class London Women Migrating to New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century*. Unpublished Master's thesis, De Montfort University
- McKeon, J. (2011). *Age and Migration: Language issues related to older economic migrants*. 1st Auckland Postgraduate Conference on Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, March 19, 2011
- McKeon, J. (2012). "Older Migrants: Finding Strategies for Sustaining Family Relationships". *Sociology Study*, 2:9
- McKeon, J. (2014). "Responding to Changes: Experiences of Older Migrants Leaving Poland". *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioural Science*, 4:6
- McMahan, EM. & Rogers, KL. (1994). *Interactive Oral History Interviewing*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Michman, RD. (1991). *Lifestyle Market Segmentation*. New York: Praeger
- Mihulka, D. (2008). *Tolerance or Acceptance – Ethnic Attitudes in Contemporary Poland: An Analysis of Empirical Studies*. Presented at 17th Annual Convention of the Global Awareness Society International, San Francisco, May 2008.

- Milewski, J., Pomain, K. & Zielonka, J (1985). 'Poland: Four Years After.' *Foreign Affairs*, 64:2
- Modell, J. (1989). *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920 – 1975*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Mostert, WP. & Hofmeyr, BE. & Ossthuizen, JS. & van Zyl, JA. (1998). *Demography: Textbook for the South African Student*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council
- Moszcynski, W. (2010). *Hello, I'm Your Polish Neighbour: All About Poles in West London*. Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse
- Mudege, NN. & Zulu, EM (2011). "In Their Own Words: Assessment of Satisfaction with Residential Location among Migrants in Nairobi Slums". *Journal of Urban Health*, 88:2
- Mukand, S. (2012). *International Migration, Politics and Culture: The Case for Greater Labour Mobility*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs
- Murray, CD. & Wynne, J. (2001). "Using an Interpreter to Research Community, Work and Family". *Community, Work and Family*, 4:2
- Murray, M. & Pullman, D. & Rodgers, TH. (2003). 'Social Representations of Health and Illness among "Baby Boomers" in Eastern Canada'. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 8:5
- Musselwhite, K. & Cuff, L. & McGregor, L. & King, KM. (2006). "The Telephone Interview is an Effective Method of Data Collection in Clinical Nursing Research: A Discussion Paper". *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 44
- Nawojczyk, M. (2008). 'Emerging Entrepreneurial Society: A Case Study of Self-Employed Owners of Small Businesses in Poland.' *East European Quarterly* 42:2
- Nevid, JS. (2011). *Essentials of Psychology: Concepts and Applications*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth
- Ng, CF. & Northcott, HC. (2009). "The Ethnic and National Identity of South Asian Immigrant Seniors Living in Edmonton, Canada". *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal*, 41:3
- NIACE .(2006). *More Than a Language....*. Leicester: NIACE
- Nicassio, PM. & Solomon, GS. & Guest, SS. (1986). "Emigration Stress and Language Proficiency as Correlates of Depression in a Sample of Southeast Asian Refugees". *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 32
- Nielsen. (2011). *The Global Impact of an Aging World*. [Online] Available at: <http://at.nielsen.com/site/documents/GlobalReportonAging.pdf> (Accessed: 26/11/12)
- Nowicka, M. (2011). *Polish Migrants' Perceptions of Living in Diversity in the UK: Possibilities and Conditions for Altering of an Intercultural Habitus*. Gottingen, Germany: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (Research project 'Transforming Migration: Transnational Transfer of Multicultural Habitus, 2010- 2013)

- Nowicka, M. (2012). *Deskilling in Migration in Transnational Perspective: The Case of Recent Polish Migration to the UK*. Working papers – Centre on Migration, Citizenship and Development: 112. Bielefeld: COMCAD
- Nunberg, B. & Barbone, L. (1994). "Transforming the State: Issues in Public Administration Reform in Poland". *Civil Service Reform in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington: The World Bank
- Nussbaum, JF. & Peccioni, LL. & Robinson, JD. & Thompson, TL. (2000). *Communication and Ageing*. New Jersey: Laurence Erlbaum
- O'Brien, P. (2011). *Exploring Processes of Adaptation in a Group of post-2004 Polish Migrants in the UK: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis*. Unpublished PhD, University of East London: School of Psychology
- Ochman, E. (2006). 'The Search for Legitimacy in Post-Martial Law Poland: The Case of Claude Lanzmann's Shoah'. *Cold War History*, 6:4
- Okolsky, M. (2010). *Distinctiveness of Polish Migration to Ireland in Light of Polish Labour Force Survey Evidence*. University of Warsaw & Centre of Migration Research
- Oliver, C. (2007). "Imagined Communities: Older Migrants and Aspirational Mobility". In V. Amit (ed): *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*. Oxford: Berghahn
- O'Neill, B. (2007). "How Migrants Really Live." *New Statesman* 136
- O'Reilly, K. (2000). *The British on the Costa Del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities*. London: Routledge
- O'Sullivan, P.(ed). (1997). *Irish Women and Irish Migration*. Leicester: Leicester University Press
- Panagakos, AN. & Horst, HA. (2006). "Return to Cyberia: Technology and the Social Worlds of Transnational Migrants". *Global Networks*, 6:2
- Panayi. P. (1999). *The Impact of Immigration: A Documentary History of the Effects and Experiences of Immigrants in Britain since 1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Pantea, M-C. & Piperno, F. (2011). *Transnational Family Making: Children, Young People and Migration*. 12th Mediterranean Research Meeting. [Online} Available from: <http://www.eui.eu/DepartmentsAndCentres/RobertSchumanCentre/Research/InternationalTransnationalRelations/MediterraneanProgramme/MRM/MRM2011/ws12.aspx> (Accessed 25/12/11)
- Papademetriou, DG. & Sumption, M. & Somerville, W. (2009). *Migration and the Economic Downturn: What to Expect in the European Union*. Washington: Migration Policy Institute
- Parker, LM. (2007). *The Ethics of Migration and Immigration: Key Questions for Policy Makers*. California: The Makkula Center for Applied Ethics at Santa Clara University
- Parrenas, R. (2001). "Mothering from a Distance: Emotions, Gender, and Intergenerational Relations in Filipino Transnational Families". *Feminist Studies*, 27:2

- Patterson, S. (1977). "The Poles: An Exile Community in Britain". In J.L. Watson (ed), *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain*. Oxford: Blackwells
- Pawlenko, A. (2005). *Bi-Lingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression and Representation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd
- Payne, M., Yates, S. & Sallah, A. (2009). *New Migrants Report – Skills Development Opportunities and Employment Aspirations within A8 Migrant Groups in Leicester and Leicestershire*. Coventry: Learning & Skills Council
- Pemberton, S. (2009). "Economic Migration from the EU A8 Accession Countries and the Impact on Low-Demand Housing Areas: Opportunity or Threat for Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder Programmes in England?" *Urban Studies* 46:7
- Perdue, C. (1982). *Second Language Acquisition by Adult Migrants: A Field Manual*. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation
- Perdue, W. (1995). *Modernization Crisis: The Transformation of Poland*. Westport: Praeger
- Peteet, J.M. (1991). *Gender in Crisis: Women and the Palestinian Resistance Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Phillimore, J. (2010). *Housing, Home and Neighbourhoods in the Era of Super-Diversity*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.social-policy.org.uk/lincoln/Phillimore.pdf> (Accessed: 21/11/12)
- Phillimore, J. (nd). *New Migrants and Lifelong learning: Impacts, Gaps and Opportunities*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.niace.org.uk/lifelonglearninginquiry/docs/Jenny-Phillimore-migration-evidence.pdf> (Accessed: 3/6/12)
- Phillipson, C. & Bernard, M. & Phillips, J. & Ogg, J. (2000). *The Family and Community Life of Older People: Social Networks and Social Support in Three Urban Areas*. London & New York: Routledge
- Phillipson, C. & Ogg, J. (2010). *Active Ageing and Universities: Engaging Older Learners*. [Online]. Available from: www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/Publications/Documents/ActiveAgeing.pdf (Accessed 1/3/11)
- Pillemer, K. & Moen, P. & Wethington, E. & Glasgow, N. eds. (2000). *Social Integration in the Second Half of Life*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press
- Pinsent Masons LLP (2004). *Workers from Accession Countries: UK limits*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.out-law.com/page-4318> (accessed 17/1/10)
- Pletsch, P. & Howe, C. & Tenney, M. (1995). "Recruitment of Minority Subjects for Intervention Research". *Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 27:3
- Polivka, L. (2009). "Gerontology for the 21st Century". *The Gerontologist*, 46: 4
- Pollard, N. & Latorre, M. & Srisakandaram, D. (2008). *Floodgates or Turnstiles? Post EU Enlargement Migration to (and from) the UK*. Institute for Public Policy Research

Poros, MV. (2011). *Modern Migrations: Gujarati Indian Networks in New York and London*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Portelli, A.. (nd). *A Dialogical Relationship: An Approach to Oral History*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/expressions_portelli.pdf. (Accessed: 19/11/12)

Posig, M. & Kickul, J. (2004). "Work-role Expectations and Work Family Conflict: Gender Differences in Emotional Exhaustion". *Women in Management Review*, 19: 7

Rabikowska, M. (2010). "The Ritualisation of Food, Home and National Identity among Polish Migrants in London". *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 16: 3

Reinard, J. (2006). *Communication Research Statistics: Using Statistics to Conduct Quantitative Research*. Sage Research Methods

Richter, R. & Pflegerl, J. (2001). "Living in Migration in Austria". *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 32

Rizvanoglu, K. & Guney, HS. (2010). "Serving the Evolving Communities: Functions of Turkish Diasporic Web Sites in Germany." *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe: JEMIE*, 9:1

Robila, M. (2010). *Eastern European Immigrant Families*. Abingdon: Routledge

Robinson, D. & Reeve, K. & Casey, R. (2007). *The housing pathways of new immigrants*. York: Sheffield Hallam University for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Rodriguez, A-L. (2007). "Migration and Increased Participation in Public Life: The Case of Pakistani Women in London." *A Journal of Women's Studies* 28: 3

Ros, A. (2010). 'Interconnected Immigrants in the Information Age'. In Alonso, A. & Oiarabal, PJ. eds. *Diasporas in the New Media Age: Identity, Politics, and Community*. Nevada: University of Nevada Press

Royal Geographic Society. (2008). *UK Migration Controversies: A Simple Guide*. [Online] Available from: www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/4711AA55-F60A-4B16-9F30-27DEF5232C03/0/MigrationFINAL.pdf (Accessed 8/6/12)

Ruzik, A. & Perek-Bialas, J. (2005). *Barriers for Employment of Older People: Case of Poland*. [Online] Available from: http://www.ageingineurope.org/torunpapers/ESA_RN_Ageing_Torun2005_Ruzik.pdf (Accessed: 10/3/12)

Ryan, L. (2004). "Family Matters: (E)migration, Familial Networks and Irish Women in Britain", *Sociological Review*, 52:3

Ryan, L. (2007). "Migrant Women, Social Networks & Motherhood: The Experiences of Irish Nurses in Britain". *Sociology*, 41: 2

Ryan, L. (2008a). "Becoming Nurses: Irish Women, Migration and Identity Through the Life Course'. In L. Ryan & W. Webster (eds), *Gendering Migration: Masculinity, Femininity and Ethnicity in Post-War Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate

- Ryan, L. (2008b). "Navigating the Emotional Terrain of Families 'Here' and 'There': Women, Migration and the Management of Emotions". *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 29:3
- Ryan, L. (2010a) "Transnational Relations: Family Migration among Recent Polish Migrants in London". *International Migration*, 49:2
- Ryan, L. (2010b). "Becoming Polish in London: Negotiating Ethnicity through Migration". *Social Identities*, 16:3
- Ryan, L. & Sales, R. & Tilki, M. & Siara, B. (2008). "Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital: The Experiences of Recent Polish Migrants in London". *Sociology*, 42: 4
- Ryan, L. & Sales, R. & Tilki, M. & Siara, B. (2009a). "Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35:1
- Ryan, L. & Sales, R. & Tilki, M. (2009b). "Recent Polish Migrants in London". In *Polish Migration to the UK in the "New" European Union*, ed. K.Burrell. Farnham: Ashgate
- Sandford, G. (1986). *Military Rule in Poland: The Rebuilding of Communist Power, 1981 – 1983*. Beckenham: Croom Helm Ltd
- Schiller, NG. (2005). "Lived Simultaneity and Discourses of Diasporic Difference." In WW. Anderson & RG Lee (eds). *Displacements and Diasporas: Asians in the Americas*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press
- Schleppegrell, M. (1987). "The Older Language Learner". *ERIC Higher Education Reports*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.ntlf.com/html/lib/bib/87-9dig.htm> (Accessed: 22/2/11)
- Scheider, W. (2002). *—So They Understand: Cultural Issues in Oral History*. Logan, UT: Utah State University Press
- Segal, UA. (2002). *A Framework for Immigration: Asians in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Segal, UA. & Elliott, D. & Mayadas, NS. eds. (2010) *Immigration Worldwide: Policies, Practices and Trends*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Seganti, FR. (2010). 'Practicing Reflexivity in the Study of Italian Migrants in London'. *The Qualitative Report*, 15:4
- Senyurekli, AR. & Detzner, DF. (2008). "Intergenerational Relationships in a Transnational Context: The Case of Turkish Families". *Family Relations*, 57:4
- Settles, BH. (2001). "Being at Home in a Global Society: A Model for Families' Mobility and Immigration Decisions." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 32:4
- Sharpe, ME, ed. (2006). 'Martial Law in the Collective Polish Memory Following the Collapse of Communism.' *International Journal of Sociology* 36:4

- Shavers, V. & Lynch, C. & Burmeister, L. (2002). "Racial Differences in Factors that Influence the Willingness to Participate in Medical Research Studies". *Annals of Epidemiology*, 12
- Shepard, JM. (2010). *Sociology* 10th ed. Belmont, Ca: Wadsworth Cengage
- Siara, B. (2009). "UK Poles and the Negotiation of Gender and Ethnic Identity in Cyberspace". In K.Burrell (ed). *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union after 2004*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Siddle, DJ (ed), (2000). *Migration, Mobility and Modernisation*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press
- Siemieniska, R. (1996). "Gendered Perceptions: Women in the Labour Market in Poland." *Women's History Review*, 5:4
- Sigelman, CK. & Rider, EA. (2011). *Life-Span Human Development*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth
- Silver, A. (2006). *Families Across Borders: The Effects of Migration on Family Members Remaining at Home*. [Online]. Available from: <http://paa2006.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=61355> (Accessed 8/6/12)
- Silvey, R. (2006). "Consuming the Traditional Family: Indonesian Migrant Domestic Workers in Saudi Arabia." *Global Networks*, 6: 1
- Simatupang, B. (2005). *The Polish Economic Crisis*. London: Routledge
- Simpson, J. (2007). *Adult ESOL in England: Policy, Practice, and Research*. [online]. Available from: <http://www.theliteracyinstitute.org/projects/pdf/LESLLA%20Policy3.pdf> (Accessed: 12/7/13)
- Sloan, T. (1996). *Life Choices: Understanding Dilemmas and Decisions*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press
- Sloman, J. & Wride, A. (2009). *Economics* 7th ed. Harlow: Pearson
- Slomka, J. & McCurdy, S. & Ratliff, E. & Timpson, S. & Willimas, ML. (2007). "Perceptions of Financial Payment for Research Participation among African-American Drug Users in HIV Studies". *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 22:10
- Somerville, W., Sriskandarajah, D. & Latorre, M. (2009). *United Kingdom: A Reluctant Country of Immigration*. [online]. Available from: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org> (Accessed: 15/11/11)
- Sommer, BW. & Quinlan, MK. (2009). *The Oral History Manual*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield
- Spencer, S. & Ruhs, M. & Anderson, B. & Rogaly, B. (2007). *Migrants' Lives beyond the Workplace: The Experiences of Central and East Europeans in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Spitzer, D. (2011). *Engendering Migrant Health: Canadian Perspectives*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Srivastava, P. & Hopwood, N. (2009). "A Practical Iterative Framework for Qualitative Data Analysis". *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8:1
- Stark, O. & Taylor, JE. (1991). "Migration Incentives, Migration Types: The Role of Relative Deprivation." *Economic Journal* 101

- Starkey, P. (2008). *Community Cohesion and Migration*. House of Commons and Local Government Committee, Tenth Report of Session 2007-2008.
- Stenning, A. (2005). *Post-socialism and the Changing Geographies of the Everyday in Poland*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.nowahuta.info/papers/stenning%20transactions%20final.pdf> (Accessed: 10/3/12)
- Stevens, G. (2012). "Age and Second Language Acquisition Among Immigrants". In EL. Grigorenko (ed), *Handbook of US Immigration and Education: Cultural and Policy Issues Across the Lifespan*. New York: Springer
- Stewart, A. (2011). *Gender, Law and Justice in a Global Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Stewart, DR. (2004). "The Language of Change: General-Semantics and Malcolm Gladwell's 'The Tipping Point'." *Et Cetera*, 61:1
- Stokes, SC. et al. (2001). "Screening for Depression in Immigrant Chinese-American Elders: Results of a Pilot Study". *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 36: 1-2
- Storch, K. (2008). *Tracing the Journey of Cross-Cultural Adaptation of Polish Migrant Women in Ireland: A Process of Creating Home when Home is Away*. Unpublished PhD, Dublin City University: School of Applied Languages and Intercultural Studies
- Stuart, J. & Ward, C. & Jose, P. & Narayanan, P. (2010). "Working With and For Communities: A Collaborative Study of Harmony and Conflict in Well-Functioning, Acculturating Families". *International Journal for Intercultural Relations*, 32
- Stull, (2000). "Health and the Life Course". In EF. Borgatta & RJV. Montgomery (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Sociology*, 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan Reference
- Sumption, M. (2009). *Social Networks and Polish Immigration to the UK*. Working Paper IPPR
- Sumption, M. & Somerville, W. (2009). "The UK's New Europeans". *Equality & Human Rights Commission Policy Report*
- Svasek, M. (2009). "Shared History? Polish Migrant Experiences and the Politics of Display in Northern Ireland". In K. Burrell (ed), *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union after 2004*. Farnham: Ashgate
- Szczerbiak, A. (2012). *Poland within the European Union: New Awkward Partner or New Heart of Europe?* Abingdon: Routledge
- Tacoli, C. (1999). 'International Migration and the Restructuring of Gender Assymetries: Continuity and Change among Filipino Labour Migrants in Rome'. *The International Migration Review* 33:3
- Temple, B. (2002). "Crossed Wires: Interpreters, Translators, and Bilingual Workers in Cross-Language Research". *Qualitative Health Research*, 12:6

- Temple, B. (2006). "Representation across Languages: Biographical Sociology Meets Translation and Interpretation Studies". *Qualitative Sociology Review*, 2: 1
- Temple, B. (2010). "Feeling Special: Language in the Lives of Polish People", *Sociological Review*, 58:2
- Thomas, T. (2003). "Older Migrants and their Families in Australia." *Family Matters*, 66
- Thomas, T. & Balnaves, M. (1993). *New Land, Last Home: The Vietnamese Elderly and the Family Migration Program*. Melbourne: Australian Government Publishing Service
- Thomas, T. & Hallebone, E. (1995). "Adolescents' Attitudes towards the Elderly and their Relationship with Grandparents". *Lincoln Papers in Gerontology*, 30. Melbourne: Lincoln Gerontology Centre
- Toliver, S. (1993). "Movers and Shakers: Black Families and Corporate Relocation." In BH Settles, DE Hanks & MB Sussman (eds): *Families on the Move: Migration, Immigration, Emigration and Mobility*. New York: Haworth Press
- Torres, S. (2002). "Post-Migration Adaptation in Light of Late in Life Migration: The Case of those that Migrate to Sweden as Elders". *Socialvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 4:2
- Torres, S. (2004). "Making Sense of the Construct of Successful Aging: The Migrant Experience". In S.-O. Daatland & S. Biggs (eds), *Aging and Diversity: Multiple Pathways and Cultural Migrations*. Bristol: Policy Press
- Torres, S. (2006). "Elderly Immigrants in Sweden: 'Otherness' Under Construction". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32:8
- Travers, P. (1997). "There was Nothing There for Me: Irish Female Emigration, 1922-72". In P. O'Sullivan (ed), *Irish Women and Irish Migration*. Leicester: Leicester University Press
- Treas, J. (2008a). "Transnational Older Adults and Their Families". *Family Relations*, 57:4
- Treas, J. (2008b). "Four Myths about Older Adults in America's Immigrant Families." *Generations*, 32:4
- Treas, J. & Mazumdar, S. (2002). "Older people in America's Immigrant Families: Dilemmas of Dependence, Integration and Isolation." *Journal of Ageing Studies*, 16:3
- Trevena, P. (2009). "New" Polish Migration to the UK: A Synthesis of Existing Evidence. ESRC Centre for Population Change Working Paper 3/2009
- Trevena, P. & McGhee, D. & Heath, S. (2012). *Family Matters: Migration and Childbearing Decisions of 'New' Poles in the UK*. [Online]. Available from: <http://epc2012.princeton.edu/papers/120620> (Accessed: 29/3/13)
- Truong, T-D & Gaspar, DR. (2011). *Transnational Migration: The Migration – Development – Security Nexus*. Heidelberg: Springer

- Tsuda, T. (2009). *Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic Return Migration in Comparative Perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- Twenge, JM. (2010). "A Review of the Empirical Evidence on Generational Differences in Work Attitudes". *Journal of Business Psychology*, 25
- Twenge, JM. & Campbell, SM. & Hoffman, BJ. & Lance, CE. (2010). "Generational Differences in Work Values: Leisure and Extrinsic Values Increasing, Social and Intrinsic Values Decreasing". *Journal of Management*, 36:5
- Uherek, Z. (2011). "Immigrants from Ukraine in the Czech Republic: Foreigners in the Border Zone." In L. Kurti & P. Skalniak (eds) *Postsocialist Europe: Anthropological Perspectives from Home*. Oxford: Berghahn Books
- United Nations. (2009). *World Economic Situation and Prospects 2009*. United Nations Publications
- UNECE, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. (2011). *Age-friendly employment: policy and practices*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/pau/docs/age/2011/Policy-briefs/9-Policy-Brief-Age-Friendly-Employment.pdf> (Accessed: 10/3/12)
- Vainio, H. (2012). "The Role of Occupation and Working in Healthy Ageing". *Perspectives in Public Health*, 132:4
- Van Dijk, TA. (1991). *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge
- Vangelisti, A. (2004). ed. *Handbook of Family Communication*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Vargas-Silva, C. (2012). *Migration Flows of A8 and other EU Migrants to and from the UK*. Migration Observatory Briefing, COMPAS, University of Oxford
- Vertovec, S. (2002). *Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration*. Conference paper. Ladenburger Diskurs 'Migration' Gottlieb Daimler- und Karl Benz-Stiftung, 14 – 15 February, 2002
- Vertovec, S. (2004). "Cheap Calls: The Social Glue of Migrant Transnationalism". *Global Networks*, 4
- Vertovec, S. (2010). *Transnationalism*. Abingdon: Routledge
- Vigdor, JL. (2009). *From Immigrants to Americans: The Rise and Fall of Fitting In*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers
- Walaszek, A. (2010). "Do Ameryki za chlebem: Central-Eastern Europeans Cross the Atlantic." In D. Knauf & B. Moreno. eds. *Leaving Home: Migration Yesterday and Today*. Bremen: Edition Temmen
- Walker, R. (2010). *Pushes and Pulls: Why do People Migrate?* Hove: Crabtree Publishing
- Ward, CA. & Bochner, S. & Furnham, A. (2001). *The Psychology of Culture Shock*. Hove: Routledge
- Warnes, AM. & King, R. & Williams, AM. & Patterson, G. (1999). "The Well-Being of British Expatriate Retirees in Southern Europe". *Ageing and Society*, 19: 6

- Warnes, AM. & Friedrich, K. & Kellaher, L. & Torres, S. (2004). "The Diversity and Welfare of Older Migrants in Europe". *Ageing and Society*, 24
- Warnes, AM. & Williams, AM. (2006). "Older Migrants in Europe: A New Focus for Migration Studies". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32:8
- Weclawowicz, G. (1996). *Contemporary Poland: Space and Society*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press
- Wells, WD. & Gubar, G. (1966). "The Life Cycle Concept in Marketing Research". *Journal of Marketing Research*, 3
- Westermeyer, J. (1990). "Working with an Interpreter in Psychiatric Assessment and Treatment". *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 178: 12
- White, A. (2011). *Polish Families and Migration since EU Accession*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- White, A. & Ryan, L. (2008). "Polish 'Temporary' Migration: The Formation and Significance of Social Networks". *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60:9
- WHO. (2012). *Ageing and Life-Course*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.who.int/ageing/en/index.html> (Accessed: 26/11/12)
- Wickramage, K. & Siriwardhana, C. (2014). *How Far are the 'Left Behind' Left Behind? The Psychological and Physical Wellbeing of Family Members of International Labour Migrants*. Geneva Health Forum, April 2014
- Wilding, R. & Baldassar, L. (2009). "Transnational Family-Work Balance: Experiences of Australian Migrants Caring for Ageing Parents and Young Children across Distance and Borders". *Journal of Family Studies*, 15:2
- Williams, AM. (2012). "Tourism, Migration and Human Capital." In CHC.Hsu & WC Gartner (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Research*. Abingdon: Routledge
- Williams, AM. & King, R. & Warnes, AM. & Patterson, G. (2000). 'Tourism and Retirement Migration: New Forms of an Old Relationship in Southern Europe'. *Tourism Geographies*, 2:3
- Wilson, JL. (2005). *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*. Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing
- Wingens, M. & De Valk, H. & Windzio, M. & Aybek, C. (2011). "The Sociological Life Course Approach and Research on Migration and Integration". In M. Wingens et al. (eds), *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*. Netherlands: Springer
- Winterton, R. & Warburton, J. (2011). "Does Place Matter? Reviewing the Experience of Disadvantage for Older People in Rural Australia." *Rural Society*, 20:2.
- Withall, A. (2000). *Older Learners: Issues and Perspectives*. In *Working papers of the Global Colloquium on Supporting Lifelong Learning*. [Online] Available from: www.open.ac.uk/lifelong-learning (Accessed 2/3/11)

- Wooden, M. (2008). "Participation in, and Barriers to, Training: The Experience of Older Adults". *Australasian Journal on Ageing*, 19:4
- World Bank. (2012). *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011* 2nd ed. Washington: World Bank Publications
- Yang, K & Victor, C. (2011). "Age and Loneliness in 25 European Nations". *Ageing & Society*, 31
- Yeager, TJ. (1998). *Institutions, Transition Economies, and Economic Development*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press
- Yeo, EJ. (2010). "Gender and Homeland in the Irish and Jewish Diasporas." In M.Schrover & EJ Yeo, eds. *Gender, Migration and the Public Sphere, 1850 – 2005*. Abingdon: Routledge
- Yow, VR. (2005). *Recording Oral History: a guide for the humanities and social sciences*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield
- Yow, VR. (1997). "Do I like them too much?; Effects of the Oral History Interview on the Interviewer and Vice Versa." *Oral History Review*, 24:1
- Zientara, P. (2008). *The Employment of Older Workers in Poland: Issues and Policy Implications*. IEA Discussion Paper 19. [Online] Available from: <http://www.iea.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/files/upldbook433pdf.pdf> (Accessed:10/3/12)
- Zileinska, M. (2002). 'Social Position and the Dynamics of Attitudes Towards the Events of 1980 – 1981.' *International Journal of Sociology* 32: 3
- Znaniecka Lopata, H. (1994). *Polish Americans*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers
- Zontini, E. (2010). *Transnational families, Migration and Gender: Moroccan & Filipino Women in Bologna & Barcelona*. Oxford: Berghahn Books

Media

- Asthana, A. & Fitzgerald, M. (2007) "Multiracial Britain Confuses Poles". *Observer*, 15 April 2007
- BBC News. (2008). *EU migrants Settling across UK*. [Online] Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7373552.stm> (Accessed: 4/4/13)
- BBC News. (2010). *Claims over Polish Immigrants' Return 'Not True'*. [Online]. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8473869.stm> (Accessed 6/6/12)
- Brook, S. (2008). "Daily Mail Gives Platform to Polish Community Spokesman". *The Guardian*, 5 August 2008
- Daily Express*. (2012). "Migrants rush to get our jobs". 31 October 2012
- Daily Express*. (2013). "Migrants must get benefits say EU: Brussels threatens to stop new crackdown". 26 March 2013

- Daily Mail*. (2007). "Polish Immigrants Take £1bn out of the UK Economy". 28 June 2007
- Daily Mail*. (2011). "Nine out of ten jobs created last year went to foreign nationals". 31 August 2011
- Daily Mail*. (2012). "Revealed: How HALF of all social housing in parts of England goes to people born abroad". 15 April 2012
- Day, M. & Beckford, M. (2012). "Poles Return to Britain Despite Ailing Economy". *Telegraph*, 27 September, 2012
- Echo*. (2008). "Job Agency Targets Polish Workers". 7 April 2008
- Evening Standard*. (2007). "The British workers denied jobs 'because they can't speak Polish'." 18 June 2007
- Guardian*. (2012). "The Job Agencies that Prefer Foreign Workers". 21 June 2012
- Huffington Press*. (2013). "DWP removes jobs advertised only in Polish on DirectGov Jobsite". 6 February 2013
- Irish News Review*. (2013). "Irish Economy Drained by Staggering Foreign Remittances". 20 January 2013
- Metro*. (2013). "Immigrant Families to be Banned from Housing Waiting Lists for up to Five Years, vows David Cameron". 24 March, 2013
- Rainey, S. (2013). "Why Poles Love Coming to Britain". *Telegraph*, 31 January 2013
- Telegraph*. (2011). "Migrants 'Take the Jobs from Young Britons'". 30 June 2011
- Townsend, M. (2013). "Crime Doesn't Rise in High Immigration Areas – It Falls, says Study". *The Observer*, 28 April 2013

Appendix 1: Questionnaire



Dear Respondents

I am studying for a PhD in History at De Montfort University in Leicester, researching the impact of migration on people over the age of 45 coming from Poland to the UK. It would help this investigation very much if you could provide your opinions and views by answering the following questions.

You do not need to give your name but could you please delete as appropriate:

Gender: Male / Female

Age: 45 - 55 56 - 65 66 and over

Thank you very much for your help.



Drodzy Respondenci

Jestem w trakcie studiów doktoranckich z historii w De Montfort University w Leicester. Badam wpływ migracji na ludzi w wieku powyżej 45 roku życia przyjeżdżających z Polski do Anglii. Byłoby bardzo pomocne, gdyby zechcieli Państwo wyrazić swoją opinię odpowiadając na poniższe pytania.

Nie musisz podawać swojego nazwiska, ale proszę o skreślenie niepotrzebnego.

Płeć: Mężczyzna / Kobieta

Wiek: 45 – 55 56 – 65 66 +

Dziękuję bardzo za pomoc.

<p>To what extent do you agree with the following:</p> <p>W jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z następującymi stwierdzeniami:</p>	<p>Strongly agree zdecydowanie się zgadzam</p>	<p>Agree Zgadzam się</p>	<p>Neither agree nor disagree ani się zgadzam</p>	<p>Disagree Nie zgadzam się</p>	<p>Strongly disagree zdecydowanie się nie zgadzam</p>
	1 ✓	2	3	4	5 X
1. I use English every day / Używam języka angielskiego codziennie					
2. I work with English people / Pracuję z Anglikami					
3. I speak only Polish at home / W domu mówię tylko polsku					
4. I prefer to watch Polish television / Wolę oglądać polską telewizję					
5. I have English friends / Mam angielskich przyjaciół					
6. All my work colleagues are Polish / Wszyscy moi koledzy z pracy są Polakami					
7. I attend English classes / Chodzę na lekcje języka angielskiego					
8. My spoken English has improved since I came to the UK / My mowiony angielski poprawił się od czasu, kiedy przyjechałem/am do Wielkiej Brytanii					
9. Family or friends translate for me when I go to the doctor's / Rodzina lub znajomi tłumaczą dla mnie, kiedy idę do lekarza					
10. I speak English with my neighbours / Rozmawiam po angielsku z moimi sąsiadami					

11. English classes are expensive / Lekcje języka angielskiego są drogie					
12. I am too old to start learning English / Jestem za stary, aby rozpocząć naukę języka angielskiego					
13. It is easier for young people to learn English / Łatwiej jest młodym ludziom uczyć się języka angielskiego					
14. I have no need to use English / Nie potrzebuję używać języka angielskiego					
15. I came to the UK because of a better quality of life / I przyjechałem do Wielkiej Brytanii ze względu na lepszą jakość życia					
16. I learnt English in Poland / Nauczyłem się języka angielskiego w Polsce					
17. My level of English is good / Mój poziom angielskiego jest dobry					
18. I meet English people socially / Spotykam Anglików społecznie					
19. I attend the Polish Church once a month or more / Chodzę do polskiego kościoła raz w miesiącu lub częściej					
20. I am confident in using my English / Pewnie używam języka angielskiego					
21. My children have more opportunities in the UK / Moje dzieci mają więcej możliwości w Wielkiej Brytanii					
22. My job requires me to speak English / Moja praca wymaga ode mnie mówienia po angielsku					
23. I am happy with my current lifestyle in the UK / Jestem zadowolony z mojego obecnego stylu życia w UK					

Please return online to P06086918@myemail.dmu.ac.uk/ Proszę o przesłanie ankiety do P06086918@myemail.dmu.ac.uk

Thank you! / Dziękuję

Judith McKeon, PhD researcher

Appendix 2: Interviewees

	Name	Age on arrival	Time in UK	
1	Beata	50	6 months	Daughter and grandchildren in UK, one son in Ireland, one in Poland. Works as prosecutor in Poland but on long-term sick leave.
2	Marek	45	5 years	Regional transport manager in Poland, married with one son, now truck driver in UK.
3	Krystyna	45	5 years	Was engineer with MSc, lost job, now working in warehouse. Has one dyslexic son aged 15. Elderly parents in Poland, father ill.
4	Hanne	60	1 year	Daughter and grandson in UK, daughter in Poland. Retired housewife.
5	Brygida	39	4 years	Works as housekeeper in hotel, has 3 children, was unemployed in Poland.
6	Feliks	45	2 years	Was self employed trader in Poland, then looked after children while wife in UK. Now working as driver in factory.
7	Justyna	48	3 months	Most of her friends living in UK, debating whether to move here permanently. Works as internet project manager. Has 2 children, daughter aged 8 and son aged 25.
8	Tomasz	46	3 months	Looking for suitable opportunities for work, currently building manager in Poland but thinks may only get work on building sites in UK. Son wants to migrate.
9	Michal	42	6 years	Not married, alone in UK and unemployed, mother in Poland unwell.
10	Henryka	67	1 year	Retired on pension, migrated alone.
11	Adam	47	6 months	Came alone to UK but knew people here. Works in warehouse.
12	Piotr	45	6 years	Works as painter and decorator. Had low paid job in Poland, worked all the time. No family in UK.
13	Casmir	50	6 months	Came alone to UK, but knew people here. Works as builder. No family in UK.
14	Magda	46	6 years	Works as school cleaner, had poorly paid job in Poland. Lives with husband and children.
15	Andrzej	54	1 year	Was unemployed in Poland, too old to find other job. Now has manual labour job. No family in UK.
16	Zachariasz	45	6 months	Unemployed in Poland, now working in factory. No family in UK.
17	Teresa	47	3 years	Unable to find work in Poland, is now clothes packer. Has husband and children with her.
18	Ewa	45	5 years	Came to UK to join family, unemployed in Poland and not able to find work in UK.
19	Szymon	62	3 weeks	No work in Poland because of age so came to UK to be with his children. Looking for work.
20	Zygmunt	52	7 years	Too old to get job in Poland, now butcher in UK. Married with 3 children.
21	Jakub	41	4 years	Truck driver but low paid in Poland, now truck driver in UK. Entire family still in Poland.
22	Wojciech	40	7 years	No work in Poland, plenty of jobs in UK. Here with wife and children.
23	Agata	40	5 years	Unemployed in Poland, works in warehouse.

24	Wiktor	53	2 years	Low paid work in Poland, now in manual labour job in UK. Wife still in Poland.
25	Sofia	57	5 years	Retired in Poland, found work immediately in UK. Children all in Poland.
26	Marcin	41	5 years	Low paid work in Poland, works as electrician but currently unemployed. No family in UK.
27	Wieslaw	55	3 months	Low paid work in Poland, now works night shifts in factory. Living with family members but single.
28	Mateusz	45	3 months	Setting up own business in UK. Came here alone.
29	Michalina	53	3 years	Made redundant from office work and could not find employment because of age. Came to UK and decided to improve qualifications at university. Single.
30	Irena	45	3 years	Was nursing sister in Poland but came to join husband in UK and has not been able to find suitable nursing work. Has 3 sons.
31	Gabriela	49	3 years	Had own business in Poland but closed down. Looked after grandson while daughter in UK, then decided to bring him to UK. Found work as cleaner.
32	Julia	45	3 months	Not working in Poland, children grown up. Came to UK to join neighbour whose marriage had broken up. Now works in chocolate factory with him.
33	Jerzy	58	3 months	Precision engineer in Poland, visiting daughter in London.
34	Emilia	56	3 months	Shop manager in Poland, visiting children in London.
35	Elzbieta	60	2 weeks	Newspaper editor in Poland, visiting son but does not want to give up position as would not find similar job in UK.